

HQ31  
.D98



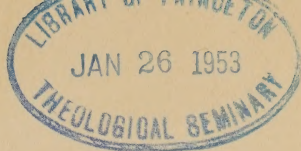






# **Men, Women, and Morals**





# Men, Women, and Morals

---

Sylvanus M. Duvall

*Professor of Social Science and  
Religion, George Williams College*

---

ASSOCIATION PRESS, NEW YORK



Copyright, 1952, by  
National Board of Young Men's Christian Associations



Printed in the United States of America  
American Book-Stratford Press, Inc.

To

DR. HAROLD COE COFFMAN,

*President, George Williams College*

*Whose concern for people and unswerving fidelity to  
spiritual ideals is an inspiration to all who know him*





## Preface

---

*People have a right to sound guidance regarding sex conduct and standards, based upon the best scientific knowledge and deepest insights available.*

This is the conviction upon which this book is based. Bewilderment about this whole matter of sex is general and serious. A few years ago a solution of its problems seemed so simple. If biological knowledge were not enough, "character" was emphasized. And as long as the older standards remained intact, those who wanted to teach "morality" could at least know what it was. Today we are not so sure. Parts of the older code, such as the former standards for modesty and the taboos on discussion, have dissolved almost before our eyes. If they can disappear so quickly, will the rest of the code prove much more substantial? Extensive studies seem to say, "Apparently not." Certainly we can have no program of moral education in sex until we have some assurance as to what is or is not moral. No wonder that uncertainty in this area has made people jittery. Obviously we must now approach the whole subject of sex on a far deeper level.

Our concern is the greater because we recognize that sex is not, and cannot be, an isolated factor of human life. In such vital areas as governmental honesty, international relations, and our whole humanitarian tradition, we seem to see the same disturbing "softness" of moral standards that we observe in sex. We seem threatened by a collapse, not only of sex morals, but of the basic concepts of morality itself.

Obviously sex morality is but part of the larger ethical problem. Therefore, I have been concerned that my discussion have an adequate philosophical basis. We are rightly suspicious of those who make philosophical judgments a substitute for scientific knowledge. But no discussion of sex morality can be adequate unless its problems are seen in their larger contexts and relationships and unless the premises upon which it is based are critically examined. We ought not to try to "get places" in sex morality or anything else, until we know the general lay of the land, find out where we are, and, most important of all, what places are worth heading for.

This book is concerned primarily with morality, that is, the effects of sexual intercourse upon people. We shall not discuss sex "in general" or the place of sex in human life. This limitation means that many excellent and voluminous works on sex are omitted as irrelevant to our concerns or only peripherally related. Most psychoanalytic literature, for example, is concerned mainly with explaining psychological processes and abnormalities. The implications for morality are significant, but these are inferences which must be carefully winnowed and processed. Writers in the field have been distressingly little interested in the effects of sexual intercourse upon people.

A further restriction is the limitation of my study to heterosexual intercourse. The so-called "perversions," including masturbation, have not been included. The psychological complexities which these involve would require endless volumes of inconclusive and fruitless discussion. I have considered only those psychological factors which seem well substantiated, and only as they relate to the effects of heterosexual conduct.

If I have left out the perversions, I have not left out the people. Within the area as delimited, I believe that my treatment will break new ground in its scope. Most discussions of sex morals have been for middle-class, unmarried youth. Yet research evidence shows that some of the most difficult problems are those faced by adults. I have included the

problems of youth, but they are not the whole show, or even the main tent. I have in mind, also, older women who know that they will probably never marry. I have in mind married people who must get along sexually with each other and must decide what to do about the attractions of willing people to whom they are not married. I have in mind teachers, clergy, and other leaders concerned with moral values who must give moral guidance in an age when many old landmarks have been swept away. This book is for all people who are mature enough to make their own decisions regarding sexual conduct, and my purpose has been to focus upon the problem of sex morality our best scientific knowledge and most matured thinking.

I started out with a simple question. "What do we know scientifically about the effects of heterosexual intercourse upon people?" To answer this question, I examined all the available technical literature which seemed relevant. The specific works consulted are indicated by the bibliography. The amount available was surprisingly small and disappointing. I have tried to do what I could with what I could get.

The scarcity of this material may be responsible for a feeling which some may have that, after all the scientific build-up of the earlier chapters, they have been "let down." I wish that I could present a classic which would compare favorably with those of Gibbon or Adam Smith. Or even an adequate manual of what to do and not to do in a large variety of situations. But the scientific basis for any such work does not exist and will not exist for many decades.

Under the circumstances, I have done what seems most needed at present—blocked out the major problems and areas related to sex morals. Scientifically speaking, sex is largely unexplored territory. Where knowledge is most important, we stumble and grope in a maze of fantasy, prejudice, and superstition. My task is to be a kind of Daniel Boone in this wilderness of confusion. I seek to survey the terrain for those who will later make substantial settlements; to blaze a few trails along which others may later build well-paved highways of adequate, scientifically-based standards.



I would prefer merely to present evidence and let each reader draw his own conclusions. But many readers will feel that they have a right to know my own views on matters important to them. I have, therefore, summarized them in Chapter 15, together with my reasons.

A discussion of sex involves risks which other subjects do not. In a book on safe driving, I could use simple words which told what I meant without being regarded as indelicate. If I pointed out that some accidents are worse than others, no one would rise in wrath to accuse me of advocating accidents. On the other hand, I could assume that accidents were undesirable without being accused of "preaching" or "moralizing." I could say that some people ought not to be allowed to drive at all, and no one would denounce the idea as a "monstrous infringement of basic human rights." But in discussing sex, I face attack from both sides. Some may feel that I am undermining all moral standards. Others will insist that my ideas belong back somewhere before the Battle of Bunker Hill. This leaves me right in the middle. Perhaps that is where I belong.

SYLVANUS M. DUVALL

George Williams College, Chicago  
October, 1951

# Acknowledgments

---

One of the satisfactions (and humbling experiences) of writing a book is the resulting contact with new and old friends. The following merit my thanks, and, especially the thanks of my readers, for their contributions to my efforts.

Professor David Fulcomer of Iowa State College, Professor Reuben Hill, University of North Carolina, and Professor Howard S. Hoyman of the University of Illinois have given many helpful criticisms and suggestions, especially on the first chapters.

Professor Mack B. Stokes of Emory University and Professor William Matthews of Marshall College have helped sharpen and tighten the discussions of the philosophical and religious aspects of the problem.

Professor Alfred Kinsey of the University of Indiana has graciously taken time from a heavy research schedule to give personal answers to questions regarding his findings, even when this has required special computations.

Professor David Mace of Drew University and my colleague Dr. Ursula Stone have combined a sympathetic reading with unsparing appraisal, especially regarding format and phrasing.

Professor Seward Hiltner has gone over the entire manuscript several times and has given real encouragement when I needed it most.

To my wife, Dr. Evelyn Duvall, I owe much of the inspi-

ration for the study, several of the central concepts around which it has been organized, and a great deal of the concrete data which has helped give it substance.

Finally, I have been blessed with the joy of every author, competent typists. For this I express thanks to:

Mrs. Earl J. Anderson.

Mrs. Doris Asher.

Mrs. Ray M. Johnson, Jr. (until recently Miss Joy Duvall).

S. M. D.



# Contents

---

## Preface

## Acknowledgments

### SECTION I. WHERE ARE WE NOW?

1. The Old Order Changeth—It Is Time To Take Stock 3  
*What was the older sex code? ... The sex ideal ... The practical social code ... Provisions designed to make illicit sex relationships psychologically impossible for respectable women ... Provisions to restrict the sexual activities and interest of men ... Social safeguards against illicit relations.*
2. What Has Happened? 18  
*Where are we now: the hush-hush stage; the guilt-and-gee stage; the more soundly balanced stage; the scientific understanding stage.*
3. The Scientific Approach To Sex Morals? 33  
*The libertarian challenge ... The theological-ecclesiastical objection ... The social comparison objection ... An evaluation of the social comparison objection ... The facts-values issue ... Building a scientific code of sex morals ... The present state of our knowledge about sex ... The nature of sex conduct ... The scope of this book.*

## SECTION II. HOW SEX CONDUCT AFFECTS PEOPLE

4. Physical Results of Sexual Intercourse 65  
*Pleasure ... The release of physical tensions ... The problem of physical release for women ... The effects of sexual intercourse upon physical health ... Venereal diseases ... Pregnancy.*
5. The Psychological Effects of Sexual Intercourse 82  
*The crucial importance of attitudes ... Sexual intercourse as a channeling of feelings ... Love and sex ... Emotional involvement ... Other emotional feelings ... Other psychological results ... The psychological effects of pregnancy: shame and guilt; resentment and rejections; anticipation and joy; fulfillment; attitude toward baby.*
6. Social Results of Sexual Intercourse 106  
*Marriage and the family ... Prostitution and related problems ... The social code ... Social results for the individual ... Economic and social security.*

## SECTION III. SEX MORALITY IN SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

7. The Morality of Sexual Intercourse Within Marriage 123  
*Attitudes of participants: the lovingly satisfied; the indifferent; the antagonistic ... Physical release for men ... Physical release for women ... Pleasure ... Venereal disease ... Pregnancy ... Provisions for the care of offspring ... The channeling of feelings ... Involvements and love nurture ... The significance of sexual satisfaction for marital success ... Support for the social code ... Results for the individual.*
8. The Morality of Adultery 150  
*What is adultery? Open and accepted; open but resented; concealed; occasional; deliberate; absorbed into family situation; unaccepted ... The motives of adul-*

*tery: a desire for sexual variety; love; financial reasons; compulsions, hostilities, and resentments . . . Physical effects of adultery . . . Psychological effects of adultery . . . Social consequences of adultery.*

9. The Morality of Fornication 172

*Fornication in normal situations: pickups; casual friends; good friends; lovers; engaged couples . . . Results of fornication in various situations; physical release for women; physical release for men; venereal diseases; pregnancies; psychological results . . . Effects upon family life and its supporting social codes . . . The problem of older unmarried women.*

10. Abnormal Types of Fornication 193

*Incest . . . Relations with children . . . Relationships between older and much younger persons.*

11. The Challenge of Prostitution 207

*Forms of prostitution . . . Coercive prostitution . . . Occasional prostitution . . . Commercialized prostitution.*

12. The Morality of Prostitution 222

*The defense of prostitution . . . Summary of Dr. Haire's argument . . . Prostitution and health . . . Prostitution and demoralization . . . Prostitution and political and social corruption.*

13. The Morality of Pregnancy 237

*The rights of babies: sound physical and mental heritage; adequate economic support; good parents . . . Broader social aspects and the challenge of Malthus.*

#### SECTION IV. SEX MORALITY IN LARGER CONTEXTS

14. Sex Morality and Family Living 257

*The indictment of the family . . . The worth of family life: recognition; acceptance; love . . . Sex codes for family living.*

15. The Issues of Morality 279

*Two basic issues of morality . . . The nature of non-*

*morality ... What is our task in sex morals? ... But what about extra-marital intercourse? ... What shall we tell our children?*

16. Sex Morals in the Context of Religion 298  
*Religion and the dimension of depth ... Contributions of religious insight to the formulation of a valid sex code.*

## APPENDIX

A Manifesto on Sex Standards	311
Summary	313
Bibliography	318
General Index	319
Index of Names	331



SECTION 1

---

Where Are We Now?



# 1.

## The Old Order Changeth — It Is Time to Take Stock

---

MRS. SYLPH<sup>1</sup> was like so many Americans. As to sex, she was sure that she knew not only all the answers but the next five questions as well. She had much more basis for her confidence than most people. She was enlightened, modern, and sophisticated, and she'd read all the books. She was also a woman of experience. By the time one gets to be a grandmother, the fires of youth, or at least, the ability to attract other fires, have supposedly died down. Not so here. Mrs. Sylph was one of those women who is always able to wear a sixteen dress. From a distance she looked like a high school girl. When you got closer you could see that her face was much older, though carefully made youthful by cosmetic artistry. Still, you found it hard to believe that she had three grandchildren. She had, also, a husband in New York, a well-paying job which required constant traveling across the country, a charming and attractive personality, and at least one "lover" in every "port."

But all her sophistication, knowledge, and experience were not enough to keep her out of constant sex difficulties. She had passed menopause and, therefore, did not have to worry about becoming pregnant. But against every other trouble

---

<sup>1</sup> All the names of characters used to illustrate examples and situations are fictitious.

she seemed childishly helpless. Here is the record for one year. In Cleveland the hotel manager proved to be not "broad-minded" and tossed her out for "entertaining" a friend in her room. Her Detroit "boy friend" jilted her. When she protested in tears he made uncomplimentary remarks about her age. In anger and humiliation she seduced a young college professor. This episode might have ended there if the professor had not, the very next day, had a spat with his wife. As the argument waxed warm, he told his wife that she was less attractive than a grandmother and named both person and place. The wife, in a rage, burst into the hotel, called Mrs. Sylph down to the lobby, and, along with assorted hair pulling and ocular decorations, proceeded to tear half her clothes off. Mrs. Sylph again left her hotel at the request of the management. When she finally got back to New York she discovered that somewhere along the line she had contracted syphilis. She at once wrote sizzling letters to each of the nine men with whom she had relations. Each one solemnly assured her that he was as clean as a hound's tooth and that it must have been one of the others.

Mrs. Sylph's basic problem was essentially the same as that faced by our whole culture today—moral confusion. She felt no reticence about sex. But absence of embarrassment about sex does not make one qualified to live a desirable sex life any more than absence of embarrassment about bridges makes one a competent engineer. She had also a considerable amount of knowledge. She knew the basic physiology of the reproductive systems of both men and women, and, as a woman of experience, knew what to "expect" in the more usual sense of the term. What she lacked, and what we, as yet, usually lack is a knowledge of morality; that is, the probable effects of behavior upon persons. Therefore, in a deeper sense, Mrs. Sylph did not know what to expect. She knew the demands that her religion made upon sex conduct. But these demands did not work because she did not know their scientific bases. Finally, her trouble was confusion about morality, not a lack of morality itself. She was genuinely concerned about people and did not want to do any-



thing to harm either herself or others. She honestly felt that with proper precautions people had a right to indulge in sex relations regardless of marriage. What she lacked was what our whole age lacks; the kind of knowledge which will end moral confusion.

This moral confusion resulting from a lack of certain kinds of knowledge is widespread and common. The dean of a large university reports that one of the questions asked most frequently by his students is why sex relations before marriage are not moral. Youth ask this question with such persistency because their elders, likewise, are uncertain and confused. Here are some examples, taken from my own files.

"My seventeen-year-old daughter is terribly in love with a boy of her own age. My husband and I and the young people know that it probably will not last long. But, in the meantime, they are under a terrible strain. Would it not be better to take my daughter to a gynecologist, have her fitted with a diaphragm, and allow the young people to have sex relations in our home under our careful supervision?"

"I am forty-five, and my sex drives are at their height just at the time those of my husband, ten years older, are diminishing. If my husband is not potent enough to satisfy me, why should I not establish relationships with some other men, provided we are discrete and careful?"

"I was a chaplain in the navy and while there became broad-minded about sex. I don't object when my wife wants sex relationships with people other than me. But I am now in the pastorate, and, if she continues to act like this, it will ruin me vocationally. Don't you think she ought to have some consideration for my work since it means so much to me?"

Countless numbers of people of all ages are asking themselves similar questions. We had better develop some answers that will really stand up. Our first task is to take stock. If we would clear up our confusion, we must see where we have come from, where we seem now to be, and where we are headed.

## WHAT WAS THE OLDER SEX CODE?

To some people, the answer to the above question is simple. The older sex code forbade sexual intercourse outside of marriage and permitted it within marriage. This is like defining a clock as a dial with hands which move around on it. The definition is true as far as it goes, but there is a whole lot more to it than appears on the surface. If we are to understand either a clock or a sex code, we must know what it was designed to do, and, secondly, something of the mechanisms behind it which make it work. With this in mind, let us consider briefly what the older sex code was.<sup>2</sup>

As Professor Leuba has so well pointed out in his excellent discussion,<sup>3</sup> the sex code of the past was neither simple nor easy to understand. Like a clock, it was built to achieve specific purposes. In the first place our ancestors understood this, not "intellectually," perhaps, but in their "visceral thinking." They knew, or at least felt, what they wanted. When their purposes, like the bustles in the dresses of the period, involved a certain amount of sham and fraud, the pretence of substance without its reality, they understood that, too. In the second place their code, like a clock, had a mechanism to make it operate. Back of the surface operation was an intricate system of somewhat crude, often annoying,

---

<sup>2</sup> Historically, the sex standards and practices of American life have varied widely in time and place from strict to lax. By the "older code" we mean here the code which began to emerge in the United States with the passing of the frontier, reached its climax in the "Gay Nineties," and persisted without serious challenge until the first World War.

<sup>3</sup> In most substantial works reference notes stand out like billboards on a highway. I have tried to make them like the springs of a sofa, adequately sustaining but as unobtrusive as possible. Whenever possible I have flowed them into the body of the discussion by merely mentioning the authority referred to and, when necessary, a word or phrase to identify the particular title. Unless the reference is to the work as a whole, pages and chapters are indicated in parentheses at the end of the sentence. By referring to the bibliography, the reader can readily find any reference he wants, including title, place, date, and publisher. Notes are used only for special purposes, such as explanations, summaries of sources, or to call special attention to some particular author or work.

but usually necessary functioning demands. Let us now consider what these basic purposes were.

### *1. Maintain Christian Ideals*

In the Old Testament adultery meant having sex relationships with another man's wife, thus violating his property rights. (Cf. Exod. 22:16; Deut. 22:28,29; Lev. 19:20,21.) Today millions of Americans know that the Ten Commandments include the demand "Thou shalt not commit adultery" and regard this commandment as part of the authoritative voice of God, but they do not make fine distinctions. To them, God has forbidden *all* sex relationships outside of marriage, and they are part of an historic tradition which has tended to regard the whole matter of sex as morally suspect. Christians have by no means always lived up to their standards and ideals in this or in any other matter. But they have been profoundly influenced in both their standards and behavior by what they have believed to be the demands of their religion.

The extent of Christian influence upon American culture is a complicated and involved problem. In some colonies, as in Plymouth, it was dominating. In others, such as Jamestown, it was far less extensive. During the early part of the eighteenth century, the influence of religion was low. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the influence of Christianity on sex standards was unmistakably powerful.

### *2. Prevent Irresponsible Pregnancies*

The importance to society that each child born should have parents who both acknowledged and assumed responsibility for him needs no elaboration.

### *3. Preserve Family Life, Including Its Inheritance of Property and Status*

In the past the family was the unit of economic production and the usual means to economic power and social position. The function of the family today and its relationship to sex morals will be the subject of Chapter 14.

#### 4. *Assure Male Domination*

This included the broader areas of social, political, and economic, as well as sexual, domination and privilege.

The code developed to meet these objectives consisted roughly of two parts; an ideal to be held up for all who could attain it and a less exalted and more practical code which was regarded as generally enforceable.

#### THE SEX IDEAL

The ideal held up was what was regarded, with good historical evidence, as the Christian standard of sex. This involved, briefly, the elimination of sex from life, at least outside of marriage, as completely as possible. Really "pure" Christians would not only refrain from actual sexual intercourse outside of marriage; they would also avoid the minor forms of sex behavior, such as hugging, kissing, or flirtatious glances and conversation except when marriage was definitely intended. Even then they practiced chaste restraint. They strove to eliminate sex not only from their behavior, but from their talk, interest, thoughts, and feelings. Since women were supposedly devoid of sex feelings, this last was regarded as easily possible for them. With men it was a different matter. They had more of the "beast" in them which at times might come out, despite the noblest of intentions. But if they were truly Christian, they would combat and repress all such feelings with uncompromising rigor.

It was recognized, however, that only a small proportion of men would, or could, adhere to such Spartan restrictions. Most of them would indulge in "impure" thoughts, enjoy "dirty stories," and even "sow their wild oats." To make this last possible, there would have to be a certain group of "loose" and "fallen" women with whom this male majority could consort sexually. Therefore, in view of the actual situation, the ideal was modified sufficiently to make it a possible cultural demand.



## THE PRACTICAL SOCIAL CODE

The main objective of the social code as actually enforced was to protect the virtue of respectable American womanhood. Briefly stated, its requirements were:

1. Respectable women must refrain from sexual intercourse outside of marriage and must avoid situations which might result in scandal.
2. Men must not make illicit sexual approaches to respectable women and girls. They may freely approach and consort with "the other kind" sexually, but not socially. As E. W. Howe declared, "Men are virtuous because women are; women are virtuous from necessity." Freed flatly states that "the history of sexual morality has been the history of male supremacy" (p. 231).

Respectability was the reward to women for observing the ideal code. It involved a number of tangible and important advantages. Respectability made women socially acceptable and eligible for marriage within their own group and reputable with all groups. The "other kind" were the small group who supplied the illicit sex desires of the male majority. They included, but were not limited to, professional prostitutes. They were not received in any respectable society, and they were not eligible for respectable marriages. Socially they were outcasts, even for the men who consorted with them sexually.

This older code was a practical and, on the whole, successful arrangement. In order to incorporate and enforce its provisions in actual situations it set up not only standards but also functional programs designed to accomplish the following:

1. Condition respectable women and girls so that illicit sex relationships would be psychologically and emotionally impossible.
2. Condition men psychologically and emotionally so that they would not make illicit sexual approaches to respectable women and girls.

3. Provide social safeguards which would make illicit sex relationships between men and respectable women as difficult and risky as possible.

We shall now consider provisions designed to secure these results in some detail.

*Provisions Designed to Make Illicit Sex Relationships Psychologically Impossible for Respectable Women*

We may regard the taboos of the older sex code as undemocratic, unfair, or damaging to persons. But they were not silly, stupid, or merely "narrow-minded." They were, essentially, tools designed to do a specific job or, to use our other analogy, the mechanism which operated the clock. Under the circumstances they did it somewhat brutally but well. Among the most significant devices were taboos developed to condition people against sex. The natural curiosity of a child about the origins of life was suppressed. The whole matter of reproduction was made a conspicuous gap. Children were taught about the stars and the ocean. They were told stories about Indians, Revolutionary fathers, and Bible heroes, but nothing about reproduction. Questions on this point were met with silence, evasion, or downright lying soon detected. The child who persisted in his quest was finally reprimanded severely and silenced for good on the subject. It is easy to ridicule the absurdity of attempting to conceal sex from children, especially in an animal breeding civilization. The abundant availability of other children and some adults, eager to supply any missing information, makes the "conspiracy of silence" absurdly futile. To see these taboos as attempts to perpetuate ignorance, however, is to miss their point. Their primary purpose was not to prevent knowledge. It was to condition children emotionally. The child who was lied to, or who felt the shock and horror of adults at what to him was a normal curiosity about sex, was being emotionally conditioned to feel uncomfortable, if not guilty. The "dirty stories" through which information finally came served to reënforce this feeling.

Powerfully supplementing the discussion taboo was the one regarding modesty. All women kept their bodies carefully swathed in obviously unnecessary amounts of clothing. Nudity, even among small children, was practically unknown. The child who disrobed before others was sharply reprimanded. Women who exposed more of their bodies than was regarded proper were condemned as immodest, if not immoral.

Underlying the whole, as a far more important influence than has commonly been recognized, was the subjugation of women. Most girls grew up in homes where father was "boss," not only of the children, but of the wife as well. He doled out the money and gave the orders. The rest of the family adjusted to him, his moods, and his whims. Men voted, swore, and smoked cigars. Women didn't. Boys could stay out with relatively little concern, but if girls stayed out too late the parents "raised the roof." Every girl soon came to believe herself that some things permissible for men were wicked and immoral for women. That is what the code was designed to have her learn.

To back all this up were social sanctions which combined heavy penalties with an almost certainty of detection. Chaperonage was so strict that illicit relations for respectable women were difficult to conceal. There was even less chance of making them stay concealed. This was before the days of effective birth control. If there were natural sterility (a remote possibility) detection might be avoided. A married woman living with her husband might pass off any child as legitimate. But for the unmarried girl there was usually no "out." The high probability of pregnancy made concealment almost impossible.

Penalties were certain and crushing. A girl who had sex experiences outside of marriage was regarded as "ruined." We may ridicule this idea today, but, in an earlier age, she actually was. Detection meant that respectable people would no longer associate with her socially, and respectable marriage was no longer possible, and at that time marriage was the only vocation open to most women! She might even

be turned out of her own home; by her husband if married, and by her family if not. *East Lynn*, which portrays a harsh father driving his erring daughter from his door into a raging blizzard, is a caricature. But it caricatures what was once a terrible reality. At best a woman could look forward only to a life of shame and disgrace. At worst, prostitution was the only vocation which remained for her. A woman with a "past" had no future.

The cumulative effects of this combination of conditioning and taboos were tremendous. From childhood, the girl had been taught to believe and to feel that sex was nasty and wicked. She had learned that for a woman a subordinate place in life which included the acceptance and support of sex restrictions was both proper and right. Finally, the social penalties of deviation made her regard illicit sex conduct as about the same as going over Niagara in a barrel. Against such powerful and alert emotional and social defenses illicit sex temptations had about as much chance as a convention of worms in a hen yard. Most girls were so conditioned that even within marriage they found sex distasteful, if not disgusting. Approaches for illicit sex experiences were regarded with horror, as shocking insults to be vigorously and unmistakably repulsed.

To make things a bit easier, the older code provided not only for negative restrictions but also for positive outlets. Our fathers sensed that sex was too potent, even in women, to be completely denied. Therefore, they provided interest vents which required only that the sexual nature of the interest be disguised. Since most types of personality disturbances can have their origins partially in sex, a list of such outlets would be a list of their neuroses. Three types of outlets merit special mention—religion, "romanticism," and motherhood. G. Stanley Hall, in his extensive work, *Adolescence* (ch. XIV, vol. 2, pp. 288-301), called attention to the close relationships between the physiological disturbances of puberty and certain types of "religious" experiences, particularly conversion. The emergence of emotional revivalism among those



youth of our day who are relatively restricted is a more recent illustration of such psychological diversion.

"Romanticism" was a somewhat emasculated form of sexual outlet disguised as a "love" interest. In poetry and novels this love was first of all "pure," devoid of sex content. In some instances it ended in a melodramatic tragedy such as death or inescapable frustration. Sex starved women and girls wept buckets of tears over the narrative forms of Ben Bolt's *Sweet Alice*. In other instances, the results were happier, and the heroes and heroines married and lived happily ever after. What happened after marriage? We were not told. Like the jack pot prizes of the radio, the "love" involved was both enormously valuable and secured without the necessity for effort or intelligence as the proper reward for "virtue." This romanticism in time developed into what is still with us as "the great American delusion." "Soap operas" are the modern counterpart of the *Sweet Alice* literature. Love is a strange, mysterious "something" which nobody knows anything about or can understand. Wise men never try to explain it. But if you are pure and patient your Prince Charming may come galloping up on his charger and carry you away to the fulfillment of all your dreams. Confronted by such rewards of idyllic happiness who can feel attracted by the sordid satisfactions of sex?

By far the most important emotional outlet was an experience which most respectable women had repeatedly and often—motherhood. Whatever its physical effects motherhood is a phase of sexual experience for women and, some people feel, its climax and fulfillment. In contrast to its attitude toward sex the older code encouraged rather than suppressed this outlet, and thus contributed to harmonious development instead of inner conflict. A wife might be taught to feel that sex was nasty and degrading, but the baby she held in her arms was her joy and her crowning accomplishment. People today are often disgusted by the sentiment with which motherhood was extolled. As expressions of neuroses or as devices to persuade women to submit to exploitation such exaltations are rightly regarded with deep

suspicion. But whatever may have been its pathological aspects or unethical abuses the exaltation of motherhood was a refreshing breeze in an emotional climate otherwise often stifling and depressing. Not only the experience of, but the social code regarding motherhood was an emotional outlet, on the whole desirable, which made the acceptance of other restrictions easier and less damaging. Such were the outlets which drained off or diverted much of what otherwise might have emerged as more simple and direct sex interests and drives.

### *Provisions to Restrict Sexual Activities and Interests of Men*

Boys were subjected to many of these conditioning influences. They, too, were deliberately given the impression that sex is nasty and bad. It was rarely possible to hold over boys as severe threats as for girls, partly because men who indulge in sex relations do not face the possibility of pregnancy. The risks of venereal diseases are real enough, but infection is more easily concealed from the public. Social penalties varied widely. In some circles, sexual indulgence outside of marriage was both expected and allowed. In other circles, the social penalties for men were more severe. Many men lost not only their reputations but their vocational and matrimonial prospects because they strayed from the straight and narrow.

### *Social Safeguards Against Illicit Relations*

The older code called for prevention as well as punishment. The major preventive device was chaperonage. Usually we think of this in connection with unmarried young people. Daughter had young men callers only when another adult member of the family was home (although younger brothers were sometimes far more effective). She entertained only in the parlor with the door left discretely open. At all parties, dances, and sleigh rides responsible older adults were carefully "planted" to see that proper conduct was observed.

But far more complete was the community chaperonage

which covered everyone, young and old, married and unmarried. Have you ever lived in a small rural community? Then you know what this can be like. Chaperones were not deliberately assigned. They did not need to be. Like the eyes of the Lord, they were in every place. Every horse, wagon, or car was known to everyone in the community. If any man called on a lady to whom he was not related and stayed "too long," or if they had lunch or dinner together, the fact was duly noted and avidly reported, sometimes even when it never occurred. Our ancestors had a keen sense of rumor. From the standpoint of sexual opportunities, most people lived constantly in "protective custody."

A third type of chaperonage was that which married couples inevitably gave each other. Even today husbands and wives are with each other so much that the chances for illicit relationships are considerably diminished. In an age when both men and women worked at home or on the home farm husbands and wives were rarely away from each other long enough to work up any "affair."

Society also set up provisions designed to make it easier for men to remain "pure." Modesty taboos were supposed to help. If men were never permitted to see the unclad female figure, even in shows and pictures, or to read salacious and suggestive literature, they would be less aroused sexually, and "purity" would be easier. They, too, were given socially approved outlets. Religion was often for them, as for women, a means of emotional sublimation. They were offered something of the same type of romantic fantasies which women enjoyed. In addition, they had some of their own. One of these was the "he-man" ideal. The ideal man was presented, at least to boys, as physically strong, vigorous, and resourceful. He was Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, or Buffalo Bill. Life consisted mainly of knocking off Indians, catching bank robbers, rustlers, and other villains, and saving damsels in distress. With all this, what need had any man for sex? Even today, in "westerns" intended for boys, the hero must never kiss the heroine. Later Horatio Alger appeared with heroes

who accomplished much the same results under more civilized conditions. Any sex interest was peripheral.

How effective were these provisions and restrictions? On the whole, surprisingly so. A sizable minority of men lived up fairly well to the official ideal of purity. They refrained from sex relationships outside of marriage and strove mightily to eliminate sex thoughts and feelings from their lives. They were shocked and horrified at the thought of sex approaches to respectable women, and were ready and eager to defend respectable women from predatory males. From the approaches of this first group of men, women were safe. But what of the majority of men?

With most men, as the studies of Kinsey and others have shown, the power of the sex urges, the counter influence of "dirty stories," and group pressures and examples overcame any reluctance. Yet, even on this majority, the sex taboos had important effects. Most men accepted them as valid and felt guilty at their own violations. Furthermore, the code did hold them back considerably. Some investigators seem to classify every man who has had any sex experience outside of marriage with the roué and the rake. This is like classifying everyone who has ever been ill as an invalid. Actually many who have on occasion violated the ideal code have been sincerely faithful to it most of their lives. A very considerable group of men have strayed so seldom that they were never a threat to respectable women. Finally, a large proportion of those who habitually had illicit sex relationships would not approach respectable women and girls. From most men respectable women have been safe.

As a further safeguard to "good" women, men were allowed other outlets less generally accepted. Among these was the "dirty story." Men could no more ignore so prominent and potent a matter as sex than small boys could ignore a circus parade. Since they lacked scientific knowledge or legitimate opportunities for inquiries and discussions men resorted to the only verbal outlets they knew. Unofficially a large proportion of society, most men and many women, approved. The other outlet was the "double standard of moral-



ity." If men respected decent women, many felt they should be free to approach "the other kind." Such concessions were vigorously and bitterly opposed from some quarters. Yet the belief that most men needed sexual outlets outside marriage was strong enough to become incorporated into the practical code of actual social demand, even to the point of justifying a special group of women to meet this demand. Prostitution was an inevitable part of the older sex code as actually practiced.

The sex code of the past, then, was a decidedly practical arrangement to achieve definite and specific objectives important to the people of those times. Its primary purpose was to prevent illicit sex relationships by respectable women and girls. Specific demands were enforced because they were regarded as important for this central purpose. The taboos were often crude, illogical, unfair, and cruel, but they were supported because they were regarded as functionally necessary. Their survival will likewise depend upon whether or not people feel that they do anything which needs to be done. Let us now consider what has happened to this code and its system of supporting taboos.



## 2.

### What Has Happened?

---

THE OTHER DAY I picked up a book, *What a Young Girl Ought to Know*, written by a woman physician, Mary Wood-Allen, and published in 1905. It is one of a series of comparable books for boys, young men, and married persons edited and, for the most part, written by Sylvanus Stall. The obvious intent is what we would now call "sex education." Yet no real description of the sex organs of either sex is attempted. The reader is told that babies come from the bodies of their mothers and that masturbation (called "solitary vice") is bad. Little else is mentioned. And even this shred of information is approached with the caution of a fox moving toward a trap. In the series of fifteen the first four extremely cautious discussions seem like a small boy passing a cemetery on his way home. They are filled with pious comments and are almost devoid of information. Not until "Twilight Talk V," after discussions of the plants, fishes, and birds, does the author, with obvious relief, move on and devote the remaining eleven to general health, mental attitudes, manners, and self-improvement, all interlarded with devout exhortations. Yet even this much is obviously regarded as dangerously bold. As a protection the discussion is preceded by pictures of large-bosomed women and a few whiskered gentlemen, fairly bulging with respectability, who endorse the book as moral, safe, and pure as a mountain breeze. Such "prudery" should be understood, not ridiculed.

A subject so tightly closed required a narrow blade to open it. And such books were a real start.

About the same time an attack on the discussion taboos was being made from another angle. People became increasingly aware of the problem of prostitution and carefully guarded discussions of the "social evil" were regarded as not only proper, but also a civic, and even a religious, duty. The break in the hush-hush policy, thus begun, has proceeded inexorably and for very necessary reasons. Increasingly the conviction grew that young people, and even young children, should have an adequate understanding of the facts of life rather than the confused mass of half-truths and superstitions which they picked up from their companions.

Adults began to feel their children should get their facts from wholesome sources rather than from the "gutter." The movement for sex education spread, not only in extent but also in frankness.

It was inevitable, however, that such discussions should not be limited to idealistic educational objectives. As the corrupt trader often follows the missionary, so selfish vested interests took advantage of the freedom won by idealists to exploit sex commercially. Writers of fiction at first proceeded cautiously. Words like "sin" and "innocence" were like sheer black nightgowns. They ostensibly met the requirements of modesty, but at the same time they often made the subject more alluring than ever. In time even these protective safeguards were dropped, and sex and illicit sex relationships were presented as normal phases of human living.

Closely following the dissolution of taboos on discussion were those on modesty. Some years ago an eminently respectable woman consulted her physician because in falling she had wrenched her knee. Both of them were terribly embarrassed. He finally told her that he could hardly tell her what to do unless he could see where she had been hurt. She had anticipated this and drew forth a doll. By going over the doll's knee she was able to give him a good idea of the nature of her own injury, and he was able to prescribe

for her without the necessity of gazing on the sacred area. Things are not like that now. About the beginning of World War I, women's ankles made their first public appearances. The sight of a woman's leg up to the knee was still a wickedly delightful treat. Gradually skirts crept higher and higher. When women entered sports, especially tennis and swimming, their costumes became increasingly abbreviated. Our modesty taboos did not disappear all at once. We were still shocked at too much exposure. Girls, and even men, were occasionally ruled off beaches for immodesty. But bathing suits shrank until they could almost be carried in a compact. Some taboos remain. Nudity, for instance, is still not accepted. But the grip of modesty taboos has been shattered.<sup>1</sup>

The main result has not been a change in this or that practice but a complete reversal of our whole attitude toward sex. In the older code, sex was a black sheep in the family of human behavior, like Uncle D. T. of the Prim family. The Prims were eminently respectable, but Uncle D. T. was not. The Prims had to acknowledge him; after all he was a brother of Mr. Prim's father. But they would never recognize him in public, and they never talked about him except in secret whispers when no strangers and none of the children were present. If he came around after dark they would quietly admit him into the kitchen for some food and coffee, or let him stay overnight on a cot in the cellar. Since he was in some ways delightful, his secret visits were often enjoyed, even by Mrs. Prim, although they afterwards felt guilty at finding pleasure in such ways. Of course, they tried in every way to protect the children from him by never allowing them to see him and by never discussing him in their presence. These efforts at concealment could not remain successful for long. In time the Prims had to admit his existence and induct the children into the conspiracy of concealment. But if any of the children were caught dallying with him they were scolded and promptly sent to bed.

Most Americans in the past have regarded sex as a kind

---

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of one phase of this change see Frederick Allen's *Only Yesterday*, ch. v.

of Uncle D. T.—a disreputable relative whom they could neither reject nor acknowledge. Most adult mates found in sex a shameful but delightful companion. People of all ages saw in it an intriguing mystery. They often discussed it behind the scenes in embarrassed whispers and giggles. But not even pregnant women would admit any acquaintance with sex.

The position of sex has now been reversed. No longer must this once rejected member of the family sneak around after dark and live secretly in the cellars of life. Sex has been admitted freely to the conversations of the living room as a respectable relationship with whom people can consort openly without shame or embarrassment. Sex interests are no longer regarded as essentially immoral and impure. Men and women regard their sex feelings for each other as normal and wholesome, even when they restrict their own sex conduct to marriage. Such behavior as “petting” is judged by its desirability or undesirability, not condemned in advance as wrong. In some instances the attitude has made a complete cycle. Some moral and religious leaders have proclaimed that sex is not only moral, but the very cornerstone of success in marriage. The devil of yesteryear has become not only accepted, but under certain conditions, a savior-saint!

How have these changes in feelings and attitude affected sex conduct? Some observers are skeptical about any improvement. C. S. Lewis complains (p. 26), “They’ll tell you that sex has become a mess because it was hushed up. But for the last twenty years it has *not* been hushed up. . . . Yet it is still a mess. If hushing up had been the cause of the trouble, ventilation would have set it right. But it hasn’t.”<sup>2</sup> ✓

Kinsey found that men act sexually today just about as they always have (pp. 397, 415, 416). Porterfield and Salley made a study of the behavior of the more conservative groups. They report that the older code is so completely gone that any attempt to define delinquency is futile, except

---

<sup>2</sup> C. S. Lewis, *Christian Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943). Used by permission of the publishers.



where cruelty and exploitation are involved. Probably the only difference is that they do not feel as guilty about it as they formerly did. The major change has been in the conduct of women. What was once the double standard of morality seems now to have become the single standard of immorality. Every technical study of the point has shown that the proportion of women who observe the older standards has declined in recent years. For example, Terman found that the proportion of women who were virgins at the time of marriage was 86.5 per cent for those born before 1890 and 31.7 per cent for those born after 1910 (pp. 321-323). If we were to compare our period, however, with the standards of the French nobility during the reign of Louis XV or with certain phases of our own colonial history, we might regard our age as unusually strict. Is the trend toward laxity of the past few years a temporary shift, or a permanent dissolution of standards? A far more important question is, what *should* the trend be?

What has caused such profound changes in both attitude and conduct? No one thing, but a combination of many things. Here are some of the more important.

The increased emancipation of women is perhaps the most serious. Since the older conduct restrictions applied in practice mainly to women any change in the position of women naturally affects them most profoundly. The economic opportunities of women are still far from being equal to those of men, but they have increased enormously in recent years.

When Lucy Brown went to Mr. Jones' office to operate the newfangled device called a typewriter the emancipation of women was well on the way. A woman no longer had to marry unless she wanted to. Therefore, if she practiced conduct which would make her unacceptable as a wife, she at least would not starve. Neither would she starve if her own family turned her out. She no longer had to live at home. She could go to another city if she wished. If she went to a large city, nobody would know who she was or what she did. She would be relatively free from the chaperonage of



both community and family.<sup>3</sup> When the automobile came into being she could easily get where no one knew her, even if she lived in the country. Later, devices far more important for her security from detection than all the others put together were developed—namely, methods of birth control. Before birth control, continued sex relationships made pregnancy a practical certainty for her. Now she could be, not 100 per cent safe, but safe enough so that she dared take the risks.

Lucy Brown had another thing which writers on the subject have often overlooked—a background of American ideals of liberty and freedom. People are likely to think that industrial and economic changes alone can explain the emancipation of women. But industrialization does not necessarily contribute to the emancipation of anybody. Under Hitler, industrialization did not emancipate or free women because those who formulated the determining ideals decided that this should not happen. Industrialization freed women in America because such freedom was a logical and a psychological consequence of the democratic ideals upon which this country was founded and made great. People who hold democratic ideals for a time may be inconsistent and discriminatory about the ways in which these ideals are applied to different groups. But once this inconsistency is pointed out, they must either give up their ideals or extend them to all. The progress of women's suffrage and of increasing rights for Negroes illustrates this point. Any society which remains democratic must in time extend to women the same rights to work, vote, or "sin" as those accorded to any other group of citizens. The breakdown of sex standards for women is, in part, an inevitable consequence of our democratic ideals.

The breakdown of taboos on discussion and modesty were not the only things which happened. They made other things happen as well. It would be perfectly possible to have a

---

<sup>3</sup> Florence Fitch reported in 1914 that chaperonage was still prevalent in towns under 5000 population but was breaking up in larger communities, although even there it persisted among some sub-groups. See "What Are Our Social Standards?"

society which was very strict in its sexual behavior, even if everybody went around naked and discussed sex as freely as they discussed the weather, provided there were other ways of teaching and enforcing the desired behavior. The gradual elimination of the "hush-hush" policies and the "pull-down-your-skirt" demands were serious because for generations they were the methods, and in a limited sense the successful methods, of moral education regarding sex. We have as yet developed no effective substitutes.

Why did these taboos break down? Partly because of the influence of other cultures. When Mr. and Mrs. Van Snort took their daughters to Europe during the Gay Nineties they found that in Italy children of both sexes ran naked without embarrassment. They found that in the really great art the people portrayed were often not dressed according to American standards of modesty. And, in the field of literature, if American and English authors handled sex like highly explosive dynamite, Boccaccio, Balzac, and de Maupassant did not. Neither did Shakespeare nor large portions of the Old Testament in their unexpurgated editions.

Actually, as soon as the Americans could take time enough off from cutting down trees and shooting Indians to look around, basic changes in their attitudes toward sex became inevitable. Ideals of honesty and education also helped to undermine the old discussion taboos. The Christian tradition may have helped people feel that sex is too nasty to talk about, but it also made many feel that lying and deceit were wrong. As liberal Protestantism gradually emerged about 1900, another ideal, the ideal that people were important, was thrown like a bomb into the stuffy parlors of Mrs. Grundy. Lying about sex created attitudes of cynicism and distrust in people. Emotional taboos made people constricted and afraid. Sex education emerged partly as a protest against putting people in emotional jails and partly as a result of the belief that knowledge is a good thing in any area of life. The decline of discussion taboos resulted in part from deeply held religious convictions which gripped many with an unshakable hold.

These convictions were supplemented and given substance by a new knowledge of the nature of personality. We need not endorse any of the particular conclusions of Freud to recognize that his consummate genius has thrown a flood of light on the basic needs and motivations of people. The resulting insights have profoundly changed our attitudes regarding the place and the legitimacy of sex needs. Psychoanalysis has never advocated either the necessity or the legitimacy of unrestrained sexual indulgence. As Dr. Brill, a prominent American psychoanalyst declared, "As long as civilization will endure, sex will have to be controlled, and only irresponsible imbeciles believe that one can run riot with sex." The Freudians have, however, done much to break down the discussion taboos. They have helped us to see that sex needs are real needs, not types of human wickedness. Investigations from other related fields, such as social pathology and cultural anthropology, have also turned floodlights of insight upon the dark recesses of human motivation and behavior. In consequence, we are rapidly coming into a new conceptual world in our understanding of people. Among our concepts profoundly changed have been those related to the place of sex in life.

And let us not overlook the influence of war. Twice within a generation millions of men have been pulled out of ordinary civilian life and subjected to conditions in which the usual controls were absent. At the same time they have been under the severe pressures of not only danger and uncertainty for themselves, but also disruption and, often, repudiation of the normal values of decency and concern for others. Any military activity inevitably means serious moral loss in areas pertaining to sex.

Then there have been changes in the nature and functions of the family itself. Recently after an unusually fine meal in a restaurant a man said to me, "Why should any man bother about a wife when he can get a meal like this without any responsibility at all for all the debts of the cook?" The issues raised by this question will be discussed more fully in Chapter 14. We need here only to point out that the sex

code of the past was designed in part to support a kind of family solidarity which almost everyone recognized as important to him. For many people such protection for the family no longer seems important. However mistaken they may be, their feelings have been significant in weakening the supporting sex code.

Finally, commercial interests have eagerly swooped upon the decaying body of the older code. There's gold in sex, not only for prostitutes but for novelists, movie producers, and advertisers as well. Financial interests have speeded the dissolution of the older code for the same reason that their ancestors ravished our forests, game, and other natural resources. Magazines may be sick of sex in their articles, but never in their advertisements. To sum it all up, the older sex code was designed mainly to keep women in line. Changed economic and industrial conditions combined with ideals of democracy and freedom to emancipate women. A part of this emancipation was greater equality in the right to "sin." Similar ideals combined with other influences to dissolve the taboos on discussion and modesty which had long been the educational supports of the older system. War and changing functions of the family added their disruptive effects, while commercial interests have eagerly exploited the situation for their own economic advantage.

#### WHERE ARE WE NOW? <sup>4</sup>

In answer to this question some will say, "The old code is definitely on the way out and nothing can stop it. From the standpoint of morals, the only intelligent thing to do is to scrap the whole thing and start in all over again from scratch." This position has the appeal of simplicity. It is also in line with the wish-thinking of those who, for various reasons, would like to believe that it is true. Furthermore,

---

<sup>4</sup> E. Sapir, "Observations on the Sex Problem in America." See also O. L. Harvey, "Some Statistics Derived from Recent Questionnaire Studies Relative To Human Sexual Behavior" and "The Institutionalization of Human Sexual Behavior."



it seems amply supported by some of our more conspicuous evidence. A more critical and careful appraisal of all the evidence, however, justifies no such conclusion. The older code has undergone significant changes, some of which will doubtless prove to be permanent. If civilization itself collapses under the impact of another all-out global war or series of wars, the moral codes which constitute part of its core may disappear along with it. But barring such complete calamity, we have no adequate reason to suppose that the ideals which constitute the essence of our inherited sex code will suddenly dissolve.

It is not my intention at this point to enter into a discussion of what *ought* to happen. Rather I want to indicate what we may expect to happen, whether we like it or not. Like most moral codes, the sex code will continue to be extensively violated in the future as it has been in the past. But I can see no basis for expecting that the ideal of restricting sexual intercourse to marriage will be significantly changed within any predictable future. Some social influences, such as the increased social pressures growing out of crisis and the greater spirit of "permissiveness" make for more laxity. On the other hand, the religious influences which have supported the older code have materially increased in influence and power, and a much larger proportion of our people are now in the middle class which sociologically has been the bulwark of the code. In short, the predominant weight of the agencies of "respectability" are still solidly behind premarital chastity and postmarital fidelity.

Of decisive importance are the influences which condition the young. These are obviously far less effective than they were a half century ago. But they are still potent. Boys and girls are being brought up in a culture in which men and women have separate dormitories, separate public rest rooms, and, generally, different and distinctive garb. Concepts of masculinity and femininity are now more confused but are still powerful and inescapable influences. Far more important than any or all of these is the general practice and ex-



pectation of marriage. Most children grow up in families of married parents. They are constantly reminded that society expects men and women to marry before they live together as husband and wife. A much larger proportion of Americans are married than ever before in our national history, and we marry at younger ages. The whole pattern of our culture, both in its Hollywood presentations and in the behavior of most people we know, supports this ideal. Marriage is not only the socially approved, but obviously the major channel of sexual outlet.<sup>5</sup> Our children will inevitably continue to gain the impression that sex is a matter of social concern to which private indulgence must make significant concessions. In addition, most respectable girls are taught to reject illicit sexual approaches from men. At this point their emotional conditioning is much less intense than it once was, and the reluctance which men must now overcome is less strong, explosive, and decisive than it used to be. But it is also far more enlightened. Men who wanted to take advantage of a girl's innocence used to be cad. Now they are optimists.

The belief that our sex code is about to disappear results from a confusion of fluctuations with irresistible trends. The sex conduct of our people is undoubtedly more lax than it was in 1900. Whether it is more lax than it was in 1800 is open to serious question. Trends have a way of reversing themselves in, often, startling ways.

Of the present situation we can be reasonably sure of two things. The first is that some parts of the older code, especially the discussion taboos and much of the modesty demands, are on the way out. They are by no means completely gone. The publisher of a recent high school text on the family did not dare allow any mention of sex, menstruation, pregnancy, or even the physical developments of puberty. A book on the family which did discuss sex cautiously was banned from the school systems of several states. The view that sex is intrinsically nasty, like a mortally

---

<sup>5</sup> In reply to a personal letter from the author, Dr. Kinsey stated that his studies confirmed this conclusion.

wounded beast, is still able to inflict terrible vengeance upon occasional victims. But its days are numbered.

A second thing we can be sure about is confusion. Let us not regard this, however, as necessarily an evil. For confusion is an important safeguard for those partly informed. It keeps people from jumping off the deep end before they see the depth of the water. No one is so dangerous as the dimly sighted (like Hitler) who *think* they see exactly where they want to go. As with any complex problem, the stages of confusion and enlightenment which people will have reached at any one time will vary greatly. For purposes of convenience, we suggest the following levels or stages in which people are now to be found.

### 1. *The Hush-Hush Stage*

We do not need to describe this stage further. Not many people are still there, but more than we realize may look back to it with some regrets.

### 2. *The Guilt-and-Glee Stage*

Since this is the stage where a considerable number of people are right now, it merits more extensive consideration. As we have indicated, the attitude of respectable people toward sex has almost reversed itself in a relatively short time. When people shift so rapidly in matters in which they are so strongly involved emotionally, many will inevitably experience strong feelings of guilt. We need not be ashamed of such feelings. Changing our ideas is often like having our teeth straightened; it hurts. On the other hand, entering previously forbidden territory is exciting. In consequence, much of the discussion of sex combines both guilt and glee.

The proportion of guilt and glee will vary with the individual. At first discussions of sex were often timid and fearful with guilt predominating. People were held back not only by public opinion but by inhibitions within themselves. With time some have become entranced with their own boldness. Some have been quite carried away by the sheer glee of ravaging once sacred territory. This tendency is prominent in

much popular literature. In everything from the "pulp" to sophisticated best sellers, modern Boccaccios have made sex not merely accepted but the central theme of their narratives. Aiding in the debacle have been the diaphanous advertisements of "marriage hygiene," and so on.

This joy of demolition is by no means limited to the "masses" and those who write for them. Among supposedly unemotional scientists the same breathless delight in tearing up older concepts breaks through substantial statistics to appear as extravagant statements and heated demands for changes in public policy. This joy in pursuing a fascinating interest once forbidden is sometimes strongly reëforced by ego satisfactions. Avidly defended extreme positions suggest also the satisfying conviction that *we* have the "inside dope," or, at least, more of the inside dope than others. The glee is a kind of Tarzan cry of victory over more cautious rivals.

This guilt-and-glee stage is still running strong and probably will continue so as long as those brought up in an inhibited period are alive and talking. But as sex loses the novelty of guilt, and as more substantial knowledge reduces extravagant claims to sounder proportions, it will recede. With some it already has. These are coming to enter a third stage.

### 3. *The More Soundly Balanced Stage* <sup>6</sup>

The story is told of a lady from the Back Bay region of Boston who remarked to a lady from Chicago, "In Boston we place all our emphasis on breeding." Her companion replied, "In Chicago we think that it is lots of fun. But we believe that we should have lots of other interests as well."

The twist given to her friend's remark by the lady from Chicago is a fairly good indication of the trend to pick out some hint of sex in, often, the most innocent statement. Sex is a real and important phase of life which cannot be re-

---

<sup>6</sup> For a popular statement of this position, based upon interviews with several top women writers of popular novels, see "Sex Isn't Necessary," *Quick*, April 2, 1951.

pressed or disregarded. But it is not life's center and core. There are many indications that we are now entering a much more sane and soundly balanced stage in which sex will be neither an evil to be shunned and condemned, nor the central theme and concern of people.

This stage represents a real gain. But it is far from enough. For desirable personal and social behavior regarding sex requires much more than an absence of undue repression or interest. A good sex life, like a good diet in food, requires a considerable amount of technical, scientific understanding and adequately disciplined behavior.

#### *4. The Scientific Understanding Stage*

A meteorologist must have far more than an absence of embarrassment about, or an abnormal interest in, the weather. The man who builds bridges must be far more than emotionally sane about engineering. In any area of life, successful adjustment requires a basic scientific orientation, backed by considerable technical knowledge. So it is with sex. Those who deal with people, whether as novelists, teachers, clergy, parents, or politicians, should not confuse a sane and balanced attitude with technical competence. The tragedies of wrong sex choices will not be materially reduced by mere "broad-mindedness" nor will "sound proportion" significantly increase its contribution to the richness of life. At the present time we still have a long way to go before we possess the technical knowledge we need to make possible a safe, worthy, and rich sex life. We can, however, accept the scientific point of view. The development of this theme will be the subject of our next chapter.

Changed conditions have made the rapid development of this fourth stage vitally important for our day and generation. Our ancestors had something which we now, largely, lack; a clearly defined and strong set of standards by which to steer their conduct. Their situation regarding sex conduct was like that of people in a trolley car. Those on the inside had some control over their journey. Our ancestors could speed up or slow down the tempo of sex life. Occasionally



they came to a turnoff where they could have some choice of tracks. Most people could get on the tracks of marriage, which would give them a different kind of sex experience than staying on the tracks of single blessedness. But once on a particular track, there was little question or uncertainty as to route. You neither had, nor needed, a road map or a steering wheel. All steering was done by the track of rigid social demand. Lots of people sometimes jumped the tracks. But when they did, they knew it and usually got back on. Some, especially men, had little sidetracks, partly concealed, which they often traveled. But these were never confused with the main line.

In time we found that this trolley track system of control was impossible to maintain. For, in order to support it, we had to restrict much more than conduct. We had to tell people that they must not talk about, know anything about, feel, be interested in, or even recognize the existence of sex. Attempts to achieve such absurd standards of "purity" in thought and word, as well as in deed, not only failed; they also did incalculable harm. We, therefore, abandoned large sections of the track, such as discussion taboos and demands for ignorance and began to tear it up. For the trolley car of severe restriction we substituted the bus of greater flexibility. Herein lies the crux of our present sex problems. For a bus needs what a trolley car does not; a knowledge of different routes and where they lead and the steering wheel of self-direction.

Self-control regarding sex or any other matter is mainly a problem for parents, moral educators, and the conditioning influences of society. You don't get it by writing books. But books can give people what, at present, they do not have; a better knowledge of the various routes along which sex conduct can travel and lead to. At present countless really moral people want to do the right thing about sex. But they are not sure what the right thing is. A major purpose of this book is to help them make intelligently moral decisions in this area.



### 3.

## The Scientific Approach to Sex Morals

---

A MAN DOES NOT necessarily need a doctor to tell him that he is sick. Yet scientific, technical knowledge is extremely important for health. For although he may know that something is wrong, without scientific help he will not know what that something is. Does his pain result from a minor digestive upset? Or from a serious and chronic digestive condition? Or does it mean appendicitis? Does he need an operation, an extensive gastro-intestinal analysis, or just a bit more care in his everyday eating habits? Only scientific knowledge can tell him what is really the matter or what to do about it. In some cases, he may need scientific knowledge to tell him that he is ill. A man may have a tumor, a bad heart, or some other extremely serious condition which he does not even know about. Today we no longer expect to keep in good health without technical, scientific knowledge.

The same principle holds true regarding sex morals. We need not be scientists to know that something is wrong, with either our sex code or us—probably both. But just what is wrong? And what should we do about it? Since the particular ways in which people have tried to maintain moral standards have sometimes done great harm, we need scientific knowledge also to spot defects and limitations in our sex standards and conduct we might otherwise not know exist.

In recent years "science" has lost much of its former reputation. People have sometimes seen in it a serious threat to,

rather than the salvation of, civilization. Exaggerated and unscientific claims which some scientists have made on behalf of their disciplines have increased this suspicion. By "science" we mean here, not the conclusions of any particular sciences which are often wrong, but rather that the adoption of a validating and technical approach toward sex problems is essential for their effective solution.

Establishing a scientific point of view has rarely been easy in any area of life. About four centuries ago some men wanted people to be scientific about the movements of the stars. They were fought, tooth and nail. Their opponents said that the very idea of a science of the heavenly bodies was absurd, immoral, and anti-religious. It took nearly 200 years to get astronomy recognized as a science. About 100 years ago scientific biology came along, and we had to do the same thing over again at that point. Now the field of human relationships has come along, and we are faced with essentially the same problem. Even those who have accepted a scientific point of view in some areas of life do not know what it means in another area.

The opponents of a scientific approach to sex morals will make two main arguments. Some will say that it is wrong. Others will claim that it is impossible. The opposition will include a peculiar and conflicting mixture. Lined up against the scientific approach will be libertarians who want to indulge themselves without having to worry about scientifically valid restraints, a group of the orthodox religious who have always been afraid that science would destroy their faith, and a miscellaneous assortment of scientists and philosophers who believe that anything which is not already in their particular systems must be wrong. Many of these do not have the slightest idea what a scientific approach to sex morals would look like. Therefore they rarely attack it directly. The opposition is to be found basically in the implications of the positions which they do advocate. Let us see what these are.

## THE LIBERTARIAN CHALLENGE

By libertarians we mean those who believe that, within certain recognized limits, sex behavior is a private matter. Therefore, they believe it should not be subjected to any social code, "scientific" or otherwise. Libertarians usually believe in moral codes at some points. Sex relationships should be voluntary. Therefore, force and coercion are wrong. They differ about the use of money to get sex relations. Some feel that any sale of the self is degrading and its purchase wrong. Others feel that prostitution is proper and desirable, provided the prostitute is not forced into her vocation by economic necessity. Most regard the sexual exploitation of children as wrong. About incest they have differences of opinion, depending upon how "broad-minded" they are. Venereal diseases and pregnancy are commonly recognized as real problems. Therefore, some would grant complete sexual freedom only to matured, morally sensitive, and responsible adults, although determining just who belongs in this category presents obvious difficulties.

Some pleaders for greater laxity apparently have in mind the unmarried. They seem to feel that if people are satisfactorily married society has a right to expect them to be satisfied with each other. But to ask unmarried young people to abstain from sex relations at the time when their drives are most intense or to demand that women who have been unable to secure husbands be permanently deprived of the satisfactions of sexual love seems, to them, not only absurd, but also an intolerable restriction upon human rights. Others, while agreeing in freedom for the unmarried, feel that restricting married people to one person in their sex diet is quite as absurd. If love is a good thing, as Christians claim that it is, it should be widely shared, sexually as well as otherwise. If jealousy is bad, it is bad within marriage.<sup>1</sup> In some respects adultery is far less risky and damaging than relationships between the unmarried. Therefore, the liber-

---

<sup>1</sup> Bertrand Russell is among the advocates of this position. See *Marriage and Morals*.

tarians feel that married persons should learn to indulge freely and to accept adultery in their mates without resentment. In some libertarian writings there is a strong feeling of outrage and indignation toward anyone who would impose moral standards upon other people. It would almost seem that any moral standards so imposed, scientific or not, are regarded as wicked.

The reasons people take a libertarian position are many and varied. Some wish to justify personal indulgence. But it is not fair to imply that this is the only reason. Others have uncritically adopted the superstition that "love" is the only thing that matters in sex conduct, and, therefore, legal marriage is unimportant since you don't make things moral by reading something over people out of a book in a special ceremony. Others are genuinely sensitive to, and concerned about, the hardships which sexual restraints work on some people. Llewelyn Powys, in his *Glory of Life*, declares that "far more persons are injured by sexual restraints than by sexual indulgence . . . it shows the most sorry improvidence to turn aside from such felicities when opportunity offers." Other reasons root more deeply in the personality structure. Why do some point to the widespread violation of the sex code with a satisfaction which amounts almost to glee? Obviously, some libertarianism expresses a general revolt against social standards in general, the basis of which may be a personal maladjustment to life.

Whatever the real reason, the usual line of argument centers around the idea that sex is "natural." Sex is regarded as essentially like any other hunger. Everyone needs enough sexual satisfaction for the same reason that he needs enough food and water. In line with what they suppose to be the teachings of psychoanalysis, some people regard sex, not only as a need, but as *the basic* need. Social codes which prevent the satisfaction of this need result in seriously harmful repressions and frustrations. Therefore, it is, to them, essential that social codes which restrict sex be abolished.

Why do we call the libertarian position anti-scientific? Because it starts with and bases its conclusions upon some un-



proved dogma; that "love" is the only thing which need be considered; that restrictions upon conduct are necessarily wrong; that sexual restraints are seriously damaging to the personality. The libertarians may use what they think is "scientific reasoning." They do not use valid research data. Like most who discuss the subject, the very concept of deciding questions on the basis of substantial scientific data seems never to have occurred to them. Nor have they critically evaluated their own affirmations.

Consider, for example, this whole matter of the sex hunger. There is no doubt that in physically matured humans, sex is a hunger in the sense that there is a strong, biologically based urge for its satisfaction. It is also a "need" in the sense that any intense desire, whether for a mink coat, election to the Senate, a steam yacht, or a pony may become a need. That it is "like any other hunger" is nonsense. Sex desire differs from a hunger for food and drink in several important respects.<sup>2</sup>

*1. Denial of satisfaction produces no direct harmful physical effects.*

Those who do not have food or drink weaken physically and finally die. Sexual continence produces no comparable physical harm. The virile man who has no sex relationships finds physically necessary relief in nocturnal emissions.

*2. The satisfaction of other physical hungers need have no social consequences as do sexual indulgences.*

A person can satisfy the gnawing feelings in his stomach and the demand of his bodily tissues for water in ways which have no significance for society as a whole. Therefore, his choice of foods can be largely a private matter. The satisfaction of sex hungers through intercourse cannot. Venereal diseases and pregnancies in which society is vitally concerned may result. The time may come when venereal diseases are abolished and when pregnancies can be controlled even by the more irresponsible. That time, however, is not now nor

---

<sup>2</sup> See C. L. Lastrucci, "A Reconsideration of the So-Called Sex Instinct."

within the predictable future. Unfortunately, those who assume least responsibility for the proper development of children also assume least responsibility for having them, whether within or outside of marriage. In any case, since society has a concern, it must also have a code.

3. *Sex hungers differ from other hungers in that they can be satisfied in intercourse only by "feeding" upon other persons.*

The meat and potatoes which a man eats may be prepared by someone else and brought to him by a waitress. But such services rarely result in any serious personal involvement. Therefore they are in an entirely different category from sexual satisfactions derived directly from the body of another person. The other party to a sexual relationship may be not only willing but eager for the experience (although equality of sexual desire is rare). But the factor of exploitation, overtly and prominently involved in purchase or semi-purchase and by no means absent otherwise, places satisfaction of sexual hungers in a different category from the satisfaction of other hungers, regardless of any development which may take place in medical science.

Sexual frustration is a matter often greatly exaggerated. Frustrations, trivial and serious, occur in all aspects of life. They grow, in part, out of excessive demands upon life and out of inevitable and unavoidable differences in what people want and have the power to get. Frustrations and repressions in the sexual area, as in all areas, can and should be considerably reduced. But to inveigh against sexual frustrations as though they could and should be abolished as intolerable is as absurd as would be the demand for an abolition of all sickness, suffering, pain, and death.

#### THE THEOLOGICAL-ECCLESIASTICAL OBJECTION

Religious groups are by no means usually opposed to a scientific approach to sexual morality. On the contrary, some

are in the front ranks where their depth of insight and spiritual concerns have done much to give both substance and balance to what might otherwise have been shallow and misleading developments. But there are groups which feel that the whole matter has already been taken care of by revealed truth. If any so-called "scientific" sex code is in harmony with the demands of religion, it is unnecessary. If it is in conflict with them, it is evil. In any case, the very idea of a scientific sex code may call into question and undermine the authority of revealed truth.

This is not the place to enter into a controversy regarding basic differences in point of view. We have both the right and the obligation, however, to state a position with reference to this challenge. Briefly, our position is this. The same claims of revealed religion have historically been pushed regarding astronomy, physics, biology, and other fields which are now generally accepted as sciences.<sup>3</sup> We see no basic differences in the situation regarding sexual morals. The effects of different kinds of sex behavior can be determined, not with the same accuracy, but with the same basic approaches as the movements of the stars or the effects of chemicals on the body. The attempts of ecclesiastical authorities to pass judgment on all matters which they regard as under their jurisdiction has done much harm and postponed the solution to many problems. We believe that sexual morality is in part a scientific problem. In the formulation of a valid sex code religious insights will have a real place. But any view of religion which prejudices issues or interferes with the freest scientific appraisals is an impediment to the best solution.

Both the libertarians and the theological-ecclesiastical groups agree that we *ought not* to have a scientific social code regarding all areas of sex conduct. The former claim that any such code would unjustifiably infringe upon human rights and involve a harmful denial of human needs. The latter say that we ought not to have such a code because it

---

<sup>3</sup> The classic study of this controversy is Andrew Dixon White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*.

would be secular rather than sacred. We shall now consider briefly the objections of two other groups who claim that we *cannot* have a scientific moral code regarding sex or any aspect of morality. They do not object to a social code. Their contention is that no moral code can be *scientific*. For want of better terms we shall call them the "social comparison" and the "subjective value" objections.

### THE SOCIAL COMPARISON OBJECTION

Most people grow up with the naïve assumption that their customs, ways of behavior, and moral standards are the only *right* ones. In setting a table, my mother always put the knife, fork, and spoon together at the right of the plate. My wife placed the knife and spoon at the right and the fork at the left. It was some years before I could get over the feeling that there was something wrong about the way my wife set a table. It often comes as a shock to discover that other groups have other and different ways which are just as right for them as ours are for us. Or perhaps just as right by any standards. It also comes as a shock to find that the "old-fashioned" ways of our own ancestors were just as good and, perhaps, better for them than our ways. With growing maturity we make another important discovery about morals; that what is right under some circumstances may be wrong under others. The more we learn about different cultures and times, the more evident it is that what we supposed were moral "absolutes" are relative. It is quite natural that some people should leap to the conclusion that conduct is right or wrong, only because certain people believe it to be so; that moral standards are only what particular individuals, groups, or cultures happen to prefer. C. E. Ayres bluntly declares that "leading a pure and noble life is precisely the same thing as dressing properly and taking off one's hat to a lady. Righteousness, good manners, fashion—they are all the same" (p. 1). In the same spirit Kipling says:

There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays,  
And every single one of them is right.



Therefore, the whole idea of an objectively valid code regarding sex or anything else is absurd.

#### AN EVALUATION OF THE SOCIAL COMPARISON OBJECTION <sup>4</sup>

If the preceding contention is true it is indeed serious for the whole idea of morals. It means that only those strongly prejudiced on behalf of some particular culture or personal ideas have any substantial basis for any morals at all. Why? Because morality implies obligations on the part of other people. We quite naturally try to get people to act as we wish. But they are certainly under no obligation of their own conscience to act in any particular way just because we of our culture happen to prefer it. A position which makes morality only a matter of close-minded bigotry will inevitably cause serious concern. So let us examine quickly the validity of this theory!

Ask a dozen people to estimate the height of a building or how hot it is. The chances are that, in each case, you will get a dozen different answers, all of them wrong (unless someone happens to know exactly). Do these diversities prove that we can never have a truly scientific means for measuring the height of buildings or temperature? Not at all. They mean only that such scientific knowledge does not exist among those asked, *not* that such scientific knowledge is impossible.

So it is with morals. The existence of great diversity and relativity is unquestioned. In one culture, virginity is required of brides. In another culture, a girl is regarded as more eligible for marriage if she is pregnant. Then it is practically certain that she will be able to have children. One culture demands that children "honor" and care for aged parents. Another culture demands that aged parents be destroyed. Conduct regarded as wicked by one age is accepted by a later period without question. Conduct which once was moral is later regarded as immoral. So what? When cultures

---

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent discussion of this problem see Martin Gardner, "Beyond Cultural Relativism," *Ethics*, October, 1950.

and times differ about morality we may well question as to whether any of them, including our own, are scientifically correct. But this is quite different from assuming that because we do not have objectivity now, a science of morals is necessarily impossible. Different tribes, cultures, and times have probably differed as much about the nature and causes of disease as they have about morals. But at this point we have replaced chaotic diversity with scientific objectivity. We can and should do the same with sex morals.

A truly scientific moral code will, of course, allow for diversities. There can be diversities of form without affecting basic scientific objectivity. We can illustrate this from diet. The Baronis eat macaroni but no potatoes and only little bread; the Caseys eat lots of potatoes and little macaroni. The La Fittes eat lots of bread but few potatoes and no macaroni. Yet all have a good diet at this point. A shallow cynic might use such facts to "prove" that scientific diet is a lot of nonsense. But the error would be his, for potatoes, bread, and macaroni are all forms of starch. No one needs to get his starch in the particular form of potatoes, bread, or macaroni, but everyone needs starch. Different cultures may have different ways of getting the same basic moral results which are essential to them and all cultures.<sup>5</sup>

Another point of confusion is this matter of relatives. All codes which have any "absolute" (or objective) validity must be relative. For example, Bill Jones comes into the doctor's office and is told that he is getting too soft. He needs exercise to tone him up. Tennis is suggested. Ted Smith is examined by the same doctor, but he is told that he is run down and has a bad heart. Less exercise, more sleep, and no

---

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that David Hume raised the same "social comparison" objection to the possibility of objectively valid knowledge about anything. He pointed out that the concepts by which we make judgments are largely a product of (social) custom or habit. Parts of his *Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* read surprisingly like some of the statements of present-day anthropologists regarding the possibility of objectively valid ethics. Hume never was able really to extricate himself from this basic scepticism regarding the possibility of objective knowledge in any area of experience. He did, however, goad the great Kant into making his significant contributions to epistemology.

tennis. Is the doctor who gives entirely different advice to different patients inconsistent? Do such differences prove that there is no such thing as a science of health? On the contrary. The laws of health are just the same for Ted Smith as for Bill Jones. The divergencies are in the situations, not in the standards. We might put the cases in formulas, something like this.

Flabby condition + good heart + tennis = better health  
Run-down condition + bad heart — tennis = better health

The objective of better health is the same in each case. The divergencies are in the situations.

If we will just stop to think it will become evident that principles, moral or otherwise, can be absolute (or valid) only if they are relative to differences in situation. People who want to dress comfortably will sometimes put on more clothing and sometimes put on less, depending upon how warm the weather is. If we wish to drive safely we do not set some one speed as always moral. On clear, open highways sixty miles an hour might be safe. If we are passing a school which is letting out, eight miles an hour might be too fast. A sex code, like any code, can be absolute only if it is relative to a variety of different situations.

The social comparison objection does contain one truth. Moral codes as we actually find them may be little more than the mores of the group and lack objective validity. Yet, even when based largely upon group prejudice, they often include much which can be scientifically validated. So we must be cautious about junking them. Yet at the same time we must pass them under critical review. Sound sex morals require that all social demands be carefully examined as to their validity by people who are willing to make such changes as scientific knowledge and insights may require. Such critical evaluation is quite different, however, from allowing blind social pressures, or benevolent feelings of "broad-mindedness" to change our moral codes as they will. Let us now turn to a consideration of the "facts-values" issue.

THE "FACTS-VALUES" ISSUE <sup>6</sup>

A book in the field of medicine would not have to stop and explain what is meant by health or "prove" that health is a good thing. Yet medicine and every other science rest upon premises which, in one sense, are ultimately "unprovable." Teachers of philosophy sometimes like to torture beginning students with the question, "How do you know that you exist?" In medicine and engineering all the philosophical problems are there, but the answers are so generally accepted that no defense or even statement of them is needed. Not so in the realm of morals. Here we face major confusions which have to be cleared up. They are:

1. A failure to see that facts and values are inextricably connected.
2. A failure to distinguish between irrational prejudices and arbitrary choices on the one hand and premises accepted as valid as a result of extended, careful, and objective review of all the evidence. In a crude form this appears as the assumption that one man's opinion is as good as another's.
3. A failure to see that ethics is a highly technical problem. Let us take these up, one by one.

The first confusion is exemplified in the case of Professor Rambling who had just returned from a learned lecture in which he maintained that a social scientist like himself should be concerned only with discovering and describing social processes. He should not be concerned with social values or outcomes. Upon his return he found on his desk a notice that his appropriation for research had been cut in half. In great indignation he burst into the dean's office and asked what this meant.

---

<sup>6</sup> For a careful statement of the other side of this see George A. Lundberg, "Can Science Validate Ethics?" *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, vol. 36, No. 2, Summer, 1950. See also A. P. Brogan, "A Study in Statistical Ethics," *Int. J. Ethics*, 1923, 22: pp. 119-134. Eric Fromm's *Man For Himself* is an effective attempt to place morality upon a scientific basis.



"It means in part," replied the dean, "that the speech which you have just given belongs in the ash can. If you really believed what you have just said, you would be interested only in discovering and describing the processes whereby such appropriations are made, increased, or cut. You would not be concerned about the outcome. The obvious fact that you are now so furious junks your whole proposition."

Intelligent philosophers know better, but some people, including a few scientists who years ago dunked themselves in a course on philosophy, gained the impression that facts are facts and values are values and never the twain shall meet. The study of facts is science, which is concerned with what *is*, regardless of how people feel about it. Ethics or morals is said to deal with "values," or how people feel about matters, regardless of what *is*.

Facts and values can be distinguished, just as we can distinguish the hardness of a physical object from its weight or the space which it occupies from its chemical composition. But to say that qualities can be distinguished is not the same as saying that they can be, and still less that they must be, separate. Just look at any applied science. Is medicine concerned with "science" (physical and chemical processes) or with "values" (health)? Is engineering concerned with "science" (physics, mathematics, etc.) or with "values" (bridges, tunnels, and buildings)? Obviously all technologies are a fusion of facts and values. If we must combine science and values to get health or structures, so we must also combine them to build sound sex codes. Ethics *must* include facts as well as values.

This combination of fact judgments and value judgments is not only possible; it is inescapable. Look at any actual situation carefully, and find one in which you can leave either one out! All value judgments are as full of factual issues as omelets are of eggs. Most obvious are the rationalizations with which we defend our value judgments to ourselves and others. Whatever the real reasons for our opinions, we defend them with affirmations in the realm of fact. We assert

that Negroes must be kept down because they are inherently inferior; a factual claim. We argue that sex relationships outside of marriage are immoral because God has forbidden them, or because they are socially harmful, or that they are moral because they are not socially harmful. In like manner we claim that tariffs or income taxes should be raised or lowered because it would increase prosperity. These alleged facts may be true, distorted, false, or, partly, all three. But whichever may be the case, whenever values are brought before a court of judgment, we at once recognize the unavailability of factual problems.

Not only the arguments we use to defend our values, but the values themselves, involve numerous factual problems. The reasons which people give for discrimination against Negroes or Jews, for example, may be nonsense. But there are genuine factual reasons for such attitudes, such as childhood conditionings, feelings of inferiority, and hostility erroneously projected on minority groups. If a man falls in love with, and feels a compulsion to marry, a certain girl, his feeling is not merely a "value." It is also the result of a combination of facts. One of the facts may be that he is in love because the girl resembles a beloved aunt who brought him up. If he becomes aware of this and the fact that the girl is really quite unlike his aunt and unsuitable for marriage, his value feelings may be profoundly affected.

Or, consider the case of Jim Blatherskite. Jim never could keep his hands off any attractive woman. In consequence, he was always being "beaten up" by irate husbands and other relatives. In some instances he was successful in breaking up homes. Yet he always insisted that in spite of the sufferings he caused to others and himself, this was the kind of life he wanted. Therefore, it was the only proper and moral life for him. Then a psychiatrist got hold of him and gave Jim some facts which he had not previously known. The analysis showed him that his compulsions were really attempts to "get even" with his mother whom he had come to hate. This factual understanding changed his value system profoundly. Likewise, a social scientist never did anything to better his

community or his world. Then he got some more facts and discovered that his boastful scientific "objectivity" regarding social problems was, as Ginsberg says (p. 271), "Essentially a defense mechanism, designed to protect one's self from the painful necessity to take a stand in highly controversial matters." To say that values are inaccessible to scientific knowledge is to make cultural conditionings and personality distortions into sacred ultimates. This is highly dangerous nonsense. The result is a value structure desperately in need of scientific correction.

Yet the *concern* which makes us insist that values and science be kept apart is proper and valid. We rightly fear that if the cat of values (or wishes) ever gets in the cage with the canary of scientific truth, things will be tough for the canary. The scientist should rigorously insist upon reliable judgments, regardless of how they may conflict with his most cherished values. We should recognize a truth as true, no matter how much we dislike it or how disastrous the truth will prove. Yet values can affect scientific facts positively as well as negatively. Values and wishes often make people go out and hunt for and, therefore, discover facts which they otherwise would never have seen. Values are like eyeglasses. They can, and often do, distort everything we look at. They can also be designed to correct distortion and enable us to see better, even factually.

The second confusion regarding basic premises tosses us right into the middle of the philosophy of science. Life is like a jigsaw puzzle with the pieces scattered all over the house. As we find these pieces (facts) we try to fit them together in some sort of order and figure out what the whole puzzle looks like. Reliable judgment depends, not only upon the number of these pieces we have but also on how accurately we fit them together. Nobody has all the pieces. Nobody can be sure that the picture which he sees is true in all respects.

In medicine the patient without medical training is sometimes right and the doctor is wrong. Yet the fact that no doctor is omniscient and any amateur might be right does not

lead us to the conclusion that there is really no difference in the reliability of their respective judgments. In morals, however, we often take a different attitude. We say, "Since nobody knows for sure, my morals or the morals of my group may be just as right, or just as right for us, as yours are." Actually, in both science and morals, the final test of validity rests back upon basic premises. We have sometimes assumed that these could be neither proved nor disproved. The logical conclusion of this assumption would lead us into complete intellectual as well as moral anarchy. Actually, there is one sense in which proof is possible.

When faced with fundamental choices some people decide the issue as they might decide whether to order lamb chops or roast beef—on the basis of what they happen personally to prefer. One man likes people and becomes a social worker who greatly benefits his fellow men. Another man prefers to make as much money as possible and becomes a swindler. The effects of their lives upon others may be considerable. But neither can claim any scientific validity for his choice. Others might reach similar decisions by merely allowing the wind of events to blow them where it would. Still others might decide by psychologically flipping a coin. But again, none of them can claim scientific validity for their values. Many, if not most, choose their premises upon the basis of childhood conditionings. I believe, prefer, and live as I do because that is the way I was brought up. Certainly no one can justly claim that the accident of early training makes any basic premises either true or false. But what if we rise above the winds of chance and the biases of early teaching and look at the facts of life relatively objectively and in the light of considerable knowledge and experience? Suppose that everyone who examines the same jigsaw pieces objectively arrives in time at essentially the same conclusions. Suppose, for instance, every one decides that astronomy is best known by a study of the stars themselves rather than from a study of Aristotle. Premises which result as the concensus of our most enlightened and mature judgments, arrived at through a process of free inquiry, always subject to reëxamination



and revision, are in an entirely different intellectual category from the personal-preference, flip-a-coin, drift-into-it, or childhood-conditioning premises. In a real sense, they are as scientifically proved as anything can be said to be.

What we have stated here is the scientific point of view. It is, also, in the Augustinian and Thomist sense, the religious point of view. This scientific point of view is not the same as the conclusions of any particular science, such as physics, chemistry, or economics, nor of all of them put together. Each individual science results from an intensive study of a limited area of experience from one point of view. As such, it may be able to contribute greatly to our knowledge, but it is necessarily both limited and, in one sense, biased. Comprehension and balance are sacrificed to secure greater precision. The scientific point of view, however, relates to a basic attitude toward life and the solution of its problems. It includes the following:

1. *The absence of taboo areas.*

In certain types of religion, for example, some things are regarded as so sacred that it is wrong to question them. Certain doctrines are regarded as revealed by God as true. Man must believe them, but not examine them. We may well ask how we can know what is revealed, or how we can decide between innumerable conflicting claims of revelation unless we can subject all claims to the most rigorous scrutiny, but this is not our problem here.

In contrast, the scientific point of view accepts no limitations upon the scope of its investigations. A sex code will be scientific to the extent to which sexual facts are as freely and frankly examined as the facts about diet, measles, or cloud formations.

2. *Conclusions reached are determined by evidence, not formulated in advance.*

In most lawsuits, debates, advertising, and theological controversies the contending parties know in advance where they want to come out. Evidence is used copiously, but it is

used to prove what we want to prove. So are any tricks and devices which may help us win the argument. In science the reverse is true. The purpose is not to prove that this or that is true, but to find out *what* is true. A scientific sex code would not start out to prove that premarital chastity, or free love, or demands for sexual controls are a good thing or a bad thing for everybody or for any particular group. It would rather seek to find out what the facts are and to interpret them as honestly and as free from prejudice as possible. Conclusions about what is good or bad sex conduct would *follow* such investigations, not *precede* it.

3. *Final authority is experience, critically examined and objectively interpreted.*

At one time people decided questions of astronomy by reading what Aristotle had to say about it. When they became scientific, they decided such questions by a study of the stars. They studied the facts critically. They did not rely upon general impressions, but checked upon the facts themselves with constantly improved instruments. Next they tried not to fit the facts into their theories but to fit their theories into the facts.

A scientific sex code would not scrap the opinions of the past. As Heraclitus said, eyes and ears may be bad witnesses for men whose souls lack understanding. Our great philosophers and religious leaders had deep insights which will always remain of great value in leading us to truth; but these insights will be used to guide rather than to enslave. The final authority in morals will not be a piece of writing or a person but the actual facts of experience. Our first task, then, is an examination, as careful as possible, of the facts of experience. In other words, technical research. In this we shall constantly check up on ourselves lest we see what we want to see, rather than what is really there. In this process we shall formulate theories about what kind of conduct does good and what does harm, and how much, to whom, and under what circumstances. But we shall always strive to fit

our theories into the facts, rather than the facts into our theories.

What is this basic ethical premise, made scientific because it represents the consensus of all enlightened men who have or will study the relevant facts objectively? Briefly, it is that moral conduct is that which does people good. Immoral conduct is that which prevents good or does harm. As Protagoras said, "Man is the measure of all things." Mankind is rapidly moving toward a consensus as to what constitutes good. We have already attained this in the realm of the physical. The good is health and, for the immature, normal growth. In the realm of personality mental health is at least one of the values which would thus be scientifically established. Mental health means, among other things, a harmonization of inner desires so that the various aspects of personality can develop and mutually support, rather than thwart or distort, each other. The growth process thus involved has been stated in different ways such as the resolving of conflicts, the attainment of developmental tasks, or growth toward maturity.

The relevant facts which would result in such a consensus include not only those directly relating to personality but those involving social organization as well. Immature and warped personalities often attain positions of influence and power through which they project their personal limitations into the very structure of the social order. Thereby they constrict, disrupt, and sometimes even jeopardize the entire economic and social basis of life. Therefore, those who are concerned with economic welfare and social stability must make mental health and maturity major concerns. We need not press this point further. Sex conduct, like any conduct, is good when it does good and immoral when it prevents good or does harm.

A third confusion arises from a failure to see that morality is a highly technical problem. Moralists often see that getting people to act morally may be a technical problem. They fail to see that we must be scientific in order to know what is moral. Aristotle pointed out that "to be angry or give

money to the right person, and to the right amount, and at the right time, and for the right purpose, and in the right way . . . is not easy; so that to do these things properly is rare." The tragedy of moral effort throughout the ages has been not so much its failures as the futility of its successes. Moralists have often attained their goals after prodigious effort and heroic martyrdom, only to discover that they had done more harm than good. Sex moralists may often succeed in making many people "pure." But in so doing they may distort their personalities and make them incapable of enjoying a normal married life or even of being parents who are good for their children. Regarding many matters, only scientific research will make it possible for us even to know what is right or wrong.

#### BUILDING A SCIENTIFIC CODE OF SEX MORALS

The problem of developing an objectively valid standard of sex conduct is essentially the same as that of developing a science of dietetics. The difference lies in the stage of development. Dietetics already has a considerable body of well-substantiated knowledge upon which to draw. We know with reasonable certainty which substances are foods which will nourish man, and which are poisons which will harm him. We know that this food is better than that food and why. We even understand the exceptions; why foods beneficial to most are harmful to some, and why some people can, without harm, consume what is harmful to most. Allergies and other individual differences are a refinement of, rather than exceptions to, the laws of health.

Although our knowledge of the results of sex behavior is far less certain and complete, the same general principle holds true as in dietetics. Sex behavior, like all behavior, has many effects and results, good and bad. It does things to people and to the social orders by which they live. Such results may vary widely with both the situations and the individuals involved. These results can be determined and even pre-determined with some degree of reliability. As our



knowledge of the results which we can probably expect increases in both extent and precision, we will be able to say under what conditions sex behavior is usually good and under what conditions it is usually harmful. Upon this basis we can and should build an objectively valid and increasingly scientific code of sex morality.

Since sex conduct has significant social results, it is not, and cannot be, a private matter. All known cultures have codes and often elaborate institutions to channel and regulate sex conduct. These have not resulted from the distortions of Victorian purists. Moral codes emerge because sex attitudes and conduct result in formidable and baffling problems of health, social relationships, and personality adjustments. Whatever our sex code should or should not be, of one conclusion we can be certain. Sex behavior can no more be a "private matter" than can our use of automobiles, guns, sewage disposal, or payment of taxes.

As our sex code becomes more scientific it will also become more precise. A major difficulty with the older code was its failure to make fine enough moral distinctions. Scales used in weighing would be of little value if they could classify objects only as heavy or light. We need to know how heavy or how light this or that object is in terms of pounds and, even, ounces. A thermometer which registered temperature only as hot or cold would be of little worth. There are degrees of sexual morality, just as there are of temperature. For example, adultery which is a single, unpremeditated slip is in a different moral category from adultery deliberately chosen as a policy. Sex behavior which results in the breaking up of a sound home involving children is morally different from sex behavior in which the breaking up of a home is not involved. Conversely, sex relationships between a legally married couple denied contraceptive help may be highly immoral if the wife has a heart condition so serious that pregnancy would mean death. As Freed declared, "Sexual morality is . . . a variable phenomenon, and can be evaluated only in accordance with relative standards, and

by reference to the contemporaneous socio-economic conditions" (p. 233).

Such distinctions are in line with those already made in other areas of moral conduct. The law distinguishes between grand larceny and petty larceny. We recognize that the man who steals because his family is hungry is in a different moral category from the professional thief. We properly distinguish between manslaughter and second and first degree murder. If a moral code is to be accepted, it must make reasonable and sensible distinctions. A sex code which can draw only one line and call everything on the one side moral and everything on the other side immoral is far too crude. To be usable it must be able to evaluate the relative morality of sex behavior in a large variety of situations. Only a scientific sex code which makes distinctions with some degree of precision can win or even merit general acceptance.

A sound sex code, like a good automobile for general use, will be the best possible compromise of divergent factors. In designing a car it would be easy to make one that is very speedy. But then it would be too expensive to produce and operate, and it would lack appearance and safety. If the car were as economical as possible, it would lack comfort, appearance, and power. If it were made as safe as possible, it would lack the speed and appearance which the public demands. Therefore, no car for the public can be as good at any one point as it could be if there were only one consideration. Inevitably it represents a compromise between such factors as safety, comfort, looks, speed, economy of production, and operation.

So it must be with a sound sex code. If a relief of sexual tensions were the only consideration, the problem would be relatively simple, although not as simple as some suppose. Promiscuity would relieve the tensions of some and increase those of others by pushing them into unwanted sex experiences. If the prevention of venereal diseases and unwanted pregnancies were the only consideration, we could largely solve the problem by programs of intense conditioning. But

this would increase psychological disturbances and might result in the overthrow of the code. If "love" were our only concern, it would be simpler. But the price would be extensive exploitation and, at present, much irresponsible parenthood. Unquestionably, a scientific sex code can greatly reduce the tensions and increase not only the happiness of people, but the stability of their institutions and social orders. No code regarding sex or any other area can eliminate injustices, unhappiness, and frustrations. One of the best ways to reduce frustrations is to teach our people that in any society extensive frustrations are inevitable and that they will probably increase as opportunities for growth and development increase. A good sex code is the best possible compromise of divergent factors which we can devise.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SEX

A scientific sex code must be based upon increasingly reliable knowledge. What is the present state of such knowledge? Certainly we know far less about sex than we do about dietetics. Yet we do have some solid, substantial knowledge upon which we can begin to build.

In the first place, since the science of physiology is relatively advanced, we already have considerable knowledge of the physiological aspects of sex. Sex behavior has important physical consequences. Therefore, such information can throw much light upon what is good and bad in sex behavior. Yet the relatively advanced stage of our physiological knowledge involves some dangers. When we begin to dig scientifically, we always bring out first what is closest to the surface. If we base our conclusions upon what we can prove most certainly, we may be, and often have been, led sadly astray. Deeper truths brought out only by later and more developed sciences have often proved to be of infinitely greater importance. Being scientific about a total situation may require us to be cautious and even sceptical about what appear to be the teachings of some science at this time. Especially, we must not assume, as some do, that what we don't know

scientifically just isn't. Or, at least, can be ignored. We must avoid, also, the opposite error of using these limitations of the sciences to "prove" that our particular superstitions and obscurantisms are, or may be, "true." But the scientific point of view may be in conflict with what now seem to be the conclusions of some well-established science. We have good reason to suppose that in sex, psychological and social factors are more important than the physical. Our greater knowledge of the physical can make our conclusions about morality unbalanced, distorted, and misleading.

Secondly, the same principle holds true of the psychological aspects of sex. These began with the more abnormal and bizarre forms of sexual expression, such as fetishism, voyeurism, sadism, masochism, and disguised incestuous feelings. Since the abnormal is often only an exaggerated form of the normal such knowledge can shed much light on the reasons for sex behavior, good and bad, and some of its consequences. Yet we face the same danger as with physiology; our greater knowledge of the abnormal may cause us to overestimate it or to interpret normal behavior in pathological terms. The greater allure of distortion may draw attention and research away from the more important normal types of expression. Certainly many of these side excursions never come to grips with our major concern; the effects of more usual types of sexual conduct.

A third kind of scientific study is concerned with the actual sex practices of people. The earliest of such investigations, such as those of Westermarck and Sumner, were concerned mainly with "primitive" peoples. In more recent years such investigators as Dickinson, Beam, Bromley, Britten, Davis, Hamilton, Terman, and, most extensively, Kinsey and his colleagues have studied the sexual behavior of contemporary Americans.

Dr. Kinsey's studies have become so central in our thinking about sex that a brief comment is in order. If you take perfection as your standard, as some critics have, it is easy to shoot them full of holes. But if you compare the studies with anything else in the field, they are outstanding. The



studies are based upon a much larger and a better sampling. Persons from all major religious backgrounds and social and educational levels were included and carefully classified. The unique interview technique, adjusted to the background and outlook of each individual, breaks new ground in effective methodology. The studies have been severely criticized for what they have failed to do. But this is like criticizing an automobile motor plant because it has failed to produce any bodies or transmissions. Yet we should take care not to confuse a motor with a complete automobile.

The great danger in the Kinsey studies is not what they are but what poorly informed persons may assume them to be. They study only how people do behave, not the effects of this behavior. They might be compared to a similar study in dietary habits. If we knew how much spinach, onions, fried eggs, custard pie, and other foods was consumed by the people of Boston, Kankakee, Tampa, Baton Rouge, Walla Walla, and other parts of the country, what would we know? Our information would prove valuable to merchandising groups, and to some public dietitians, provided they had other scientific information to go with it. But knowing that the people of Boston eat brown eggs and those of New York eat white tells us nothing about the relative nutritional values of either or of eggs, in general. If you knew all about what every group in the world ate and how much, you still would not know whether spinach is good for you or anybody else or what would comprise a desirable diet. Likewise, a knowledge of the sex practices of our own and other people tells us only what they do, not the effects of such behavior. It throws little light on what is good to do, and even that little may be distorted and misleading. Some imply that standards which few people observe may as well be junked. Such arguments are beside the point. If most people took strychnine, their behavior would not make it any more a food or less a poison. Valid moral codes are still valid, whether anyone observes them or not.

A fourth and often popular type of discussion deals with the "techniques" of sexual intercourse. The importance of

build-up is stressed. A variety of different "positions" is described in alluring detail. Whether such knowledge has any significant effect upon the results of sex conduct is questionable. Certainly none of these possibilities is nearly so important to a satisfactory sexual adjustment as a basic acceptance by the sexual partners of each other, and any implication that mechanical devices can take the place of basic personality adjustments is dangerously misleading.

To these relatively sound discussions we might add the welter of pseudo-scientific bedtime stories and folklore. Many who write and speak with great assurance and conviction have little scientific basis for sweeping statements and generalizations. Often their conclusions depend, not upon sound research studies, but upon current fictions which they have taken over from others no better informed.

Our present situation, then, is this. We have a limited amount of relatively scientific knowledge which could contribute to an objectively valid sex code but which has not yet been so focused. In addition, we have a considerable amount of guesses and observations which contain occasional truths but which are mainly fiction not distinguished from fact. Little of this considerable literature, scientific or guesswork, even attempts to deal with the moral aspects of sex conduct. Even this little is usually concerned with some special pleading to tear down, or to support, what are supposed to be existing standards. The whole area of a scientific approach to sexual morality is a virgin field which few have attempted seriously to seduce.

## THE NATURE OF SEX CONDUCT

### *Main Line Sex Behavior*

From the standpoint of nature, the purpose of sex is to lure people into behavior which will perpetuate the race. Different cultures prescribe different ways of behavior which the people of that culture assume are "natural," but, in general, the development is somewhat as follows:

1. Physically matured and potent people are attracted sexually to members of the opposite sex. This response we may call a tertiary sex experience.
2. Preliminary physical contacts, in accordance with prescribed customs, are established with certain individuals of the opposite sex. In our culture this takes the form of what we call "petting." This is the secondary sex experience.
3. Under certain conditions, usually marriage in our culture, this contact is continued to the point of heterosexual intercourse; that is, the male and female sex organs are brought into the completed physical contact essential for fertilization. This is the primary sex experience.
4. If, and as, pregnancy occurs attitudes are built up, primarily within the female, but often prominently within the male, toward the offspring. These attitudes often take the form of affection of the parents toward each other as well as their offspring. Almost always the female and usually the male assume responsibilities for the care and protection of the children thus conceived. This last element, often overlooked, must be regarded as an integral part of the total sex experience. The conception of children is of no value to nature unless they survive.

Since this sequence of sex experience is in line with the main purposes of nature and is usually regarded as the more satisfactory and complete type of experience by emotionally healthy persons, we have called it *Main Line Sex Behavior*.

Although these stages form a natural and completed sequence, each one can exist without the other. Individuals are attracted to members of the opposite sex and derive a limited type of sexual satisfaction by looking at them, seeing them act on the stage or screen, conversing, or merely being in their presence, without the relationship ever going beyond the tertiary level. Likewise, people can have the limited physical contacts of the secondary sex experience ("pet-

ting") often to a very intense degree without actual sexual intercourse. So also many people, married or unmarried, have sexual intercourse without having, whether from choice or not, any children.

### *Side Line Sex Behavior*

Sex behavior is not always directed, however, toward procreation. Sometimes it involves a fixation at some stage along the main line, such as voyeurism. Sometimes the satisfactions are focused upon and limited to the self, as in masturbation. Sometimes the interest is directed toward a member of the same sex (homosexuality).<sup>7</sup> We do not here imply that such behavior is "unnatural" or necessarily pathological. It is, however, off the main line of procreation and does not, for psychologically healthy persons, offer the same completion and fulfillment as does heterosexual intercourse and children. Therefore, we call it *Side Line Sex Behavior*.

### THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Each of these kinds of experience, whether main line or side line, has effects upon persons and, therefore, ethical implications. To include a discussion of the ethical issues in all these forms of behavior would require, not a book, but many volumes. Furthermore, some forms involve complicated psychiatric problems beyond the competence of the author. We shall, therefore, limit our discussion to the moral issues of "main line" sex behavior. Yet, further limitation is necessary. A consideration of the ethical obligations of parenthood would plunge us into the complicated problems of child training, which obviously lie outside the scope of a

---

<sup>7</sup> A. Stoller in his "Sexual Deviation in the Male" makes the following classification:

1. *Whole object*: narcissism, homosexuality, pedophilia, bestiality, gerontophilia, and necrophilia.
2. *Part object*: skin, oral, anal, and urethral fixations and fetishism.
3. *Algolagnia*: (sadism and masochism).
4. *Scopophilia*: (voyeurism and exhibitionism).
5. *Psychotic deviations*.

In *Medical Practice* vol. 216, pp. 262-268.



discussion of sex codes (although the opposite is not true).

The omission of a discussion of the ethics of "petting" requires more justification. First of all, some literature on this subject already exists. More important, the ethical issues are somewhat different from those of heterosexual intercourse. It is true that petting may become so "heavy" as to result in mutual masturbation to the point of orgasm. Such a relationship may psychologically and emotionally resemble that of actual intercourse. We might say, "Under such circumstances, what difference does it make whether actual penetration takes place or not?" The answer is, "Considerable." The extent of guilt feelings involved in the two situations may vary greatly. Far more important, without actual penetration, there is relatively little danger of venereal disease and practically none of pregnancy. This difference eliminates not only the danger of irresponsible parenthood (which can be a serious evil either within or outside of marriage) but also the fears of illicit pregnancy, which can be highly damaging and destructive. In other words, the moral issues between even the most intense petting and actual intercourse are in some respects crucially different.

In order to have a compassable task, we have limited the discussion in this book to the morality of heterosexual intercourse. Our plan of procedure will be:

1. To indicate the different situations and circumstances under which heterosexual intercourse occurs.
2. To list the results of sexual behavior, good and bad.
3. To indicate the circumstances and situations under which certain results are most likely to occur.
4. To suggest ways in which the relative morality of sexual behavior can most reliably be determined.
5. To suggest the kinds of institutions, codes, moral standards, and social sanctions which will best contribute to a good sex life for all.

Our conclusions will have implications for all cultures; but we are most concerned with the probable results of sex conduct in our present American culture (and sub-cultures).



## SECTION 2

---

# How Sex Conduct Affects People





## 4.

# Physical Results of Sexual Intercourse

---

IF WE BASE the morality of sex relationships upon their results, we must know with some degree of reliability what these results are. Some results, especially the physical, are displayed obviously on the shelves of life for all to see. But others, often far more important, are deeply hidden in the cellars of the subconscious, and only painstaking and often highly technical search can bring them out. Also, these identified results often have "offspring" which are the crucial factors in their morality. It is not enough to identify pregnancy, for example, as a result of sexual intercourse. For pregnancy can have a wide range of subsequent results; on the health of the mother, the relationships of the couple, other children in the family, and, ultimately, upon the nature and structure of society itself. The soundness of any moral code will depend largely upon the adequacy and precision of the inventory and classification of results upon which it is based.

We wish our listing to be usable for the ordinary intelligent person. Therefore we have used categories which are the simplest and most significant for formulating moral judgments. These are the physical, the psychological, and the social results. We begin by considering the simplest of these—the physical results of sexual intercourse.

How does sex look to a bull? Apparently quite different from what it does to us. A sexually interested bull seems completely unaffected by the possibility that the cow's eyes may be like limpid pools. Making the cow's hoof's "kissable" by

careful grooming would not add one iota to her appeal. The shape of the cow's ankles and legs, her voice, the smoothness of her complexion or the presence of halitosis neither adds nor detracts. A scrawny animal with years of promiscuity is approached with as much eagerness as a blushing and virgin heifer. There is unquestionably some sex selection among animals. Yet even a form covered by a cow's skin is used to trick the bull into giving his semen for artificial insemination. It is as though a store window manikin were as attractive as Helen of Troy! With all animals except man, sexual intercourse expresses only a simple biological drive.

With man, sex interest and motivation is not so simple. Even physically it is complex. The anterior cranial structure, observable flesh contours, the condition of the skin, and the animation potentials of face and eyes can make the female breathtakingly alluring or repulsive. Psychological factors complicate the situation even further. A wife may be physically gorgeous, but long association or unhappy experiences may make her seem like castor oil to her husband. On the other hand, years of happy, loving relations may give tremendous sex allure to elderly women whose features resemble startled granite. Among humans, then, sex appeal is a rope into which are woven many and varied strands. Hopes and fears, personal and group expectations, resentments and loves, tenderness and brutalities, past learnings, and group demands mingle with sheer animal lust to soften, bend, and twist it into many forms and patterns. Subconscious motivation strands which make or break the relationship may be so intricate that only psychiatric analysis can bring them to light. Our task for the next few chapters is to identify some of the components in this complexity, beginning with the most obvious and simple and proceeding to the more obscure and involved. One of the results of sexual intercourse among humans which is simplest to spot is pleasure.

## PLEASURE

If there is one thing we do know about sex, it is that sex can be fun. It is, however, not always fun for everybody. On

the contrary. For some it is a highly distressing experience to which they submit with reluctance and resentment. But for many, if not most, it is, or can be, intensely enjoyable. Down through the ages, from the frankly erotic and startlingly descriptive sketches in the Bible's *Song of Solomon*, through Boccaccio and Balzac to the *Police Gazette*, in countless ribald songs, stories, and pornographic portrayals runs the chorus of testimony. The denunciations of those who regard sex as evil and wicked never question that it is fun. The seriousness of such problems as prostitution and venereal disease adds eloquently to this evidence. When men are willing to pay so tremendous a price in money, health, reputation, and guilt feelings, the satisfactions which they receive must be intense and tremendous. Sexual intercourse is obviously the most intense physical pleasure known to man. This pleasure is closely associated with the release of physical tensions.

#### THE RELEASE OF PHYSICAL TENSIONS

When a boy whistles at a girl, what does it mean? A number of possibilities. He may be merely a small boy, imitating his elders. But if the boy is pubescent there are other meanings. The whistle means that the girl has "interested" him. This interest is in part the response of physical conditions. Partly as a result of the development of his sex glands, his body has been "alerted." The girl has touched off some of this physical readiness and his whole body has been stimulated. The physiologist can talk in terms of glandular secretions and increased sugar in the blood, but one does not need to be a scientist to observe other responses. The boy's heart starts thumping. The girl may literally "take his breath away" or, at least, part of it. Or he may make her want to swoon. She perks up and takes notice. These general responses may or may not be related to a noticeable stimulation of the sex organs. Grant quotes several authorities who think that although such responses are sexual in nature they are separate and distinct from more evident types of genital stimulation (pp. 79-83). In any case humans who are sexually potent

(and some who are not) respond to each other in ways which cause certain types of physical tension.

Sometimes these tensions, especially in women, are so generalized that the individual is hardly aware of what they are. Or else the individual interprets them as some kind of "love." Although males vary widely, most find that these tensions easily become localized as unmistakably sexual. The boy, especially if he is in the company of the girl and begins to put his arm around or kiss her, quickly begins to feel stimulations in the scrotum and penis. The result may be an intense erection or, in some cases, even an ejaculation. A few women and girls respond quite as intensely, even to the point of orgasm, but this is rare except among those who have become accustomed to regular sexual intercourse. Haggam's study indicates that such response is most common among women who have been married for from three to five years. Unless they have considerable and intense fondling, most virgin females do not perceptibly feel localized desire.

Concerning the exact biological basis for sex tensions, we know surprisingly little.<sup>1</sup> According to Havelock Ellis, both Luther and Montaigne regarded orgasm as essentially a form of evacuation or excretion (Vol. 3, p. 3). This explanation is clearly erroneous. But what is correct? In the male, sexual tension ordinarily ceases after orgasm and returns only after an interim which varies with the age and other potency factors of the individual. Interestingly enough, the ability to have more than one orgasm at a time is more common among relatively young boys than among men even in their early twenties (Kinsey, p. 579 and elsewhere). Apparently the accumulation of the glandular secretions which mingle in the seminal discharge are the main basis for the tension from within. Bladder pressure, too, is sexually exciting and may trip off a nocturnal emission. Other causes of sexual stimulation need only be listed. Masturbation and other rubbing of the sex glands on stair banisters or even in horseback riding

---

<sup>1</sup> The standard work in physiology is C. H. Best and N. B. Taylor, *The Physiological Basis of Medical Practice*. Kenneth Walker, *The Physiology of Sex* is a less extensive, but usable, presentation.



may prove sexually arousing. Outside stimulation usually results from the presence of an attractive sex object, not only physically but in pictures. Literature, symbols, or even our thoughts can stimulate sex desire.

Some men, for physical and/or psychological reasons, are incapable of sexual intercourse. But if they can have sexual contact at all, they usually experience the release of orgasm. Terman found that only 1.2 per cent of husbands never experienced orgasm, and only 3.5 per cent had inadequate orgasm relief (p. 307). (See also, G. V. Hamilton, p. 208; L. W. Ferguson, p. 287.)

The effects of sexual intercourse upon the physical tensions of the potent male are simple and definite. After sexual contact has been established, the tensions rise rapidly and intensely to the point of ejaculation. With orgasm, the tension is relieved. Ordinarily, detumescence quickly follows, bodily processes such as respiration and heart action slow down, and the individual feels a delightful sense of well-being and a desire to sleep. However good or bad other results may be, for men the effect of sexual intercourse upon a release of tensions is usually good.

Psychological "abnormalities" can affect sexual tensions either way. They may increase them tremendously. Or, as with the conditionings to which children were once subjected, they may make it difficult to respond sexually, even in marriage. These inhibitions have been true mainly of women. Yet some bridegrooms have found themselves incapable of responding to "respectable" women, including their own brides, although they were intensely responsive to "the other kind." Sex conduct frequently expresses subconscious psychological compulsions. Sexual tensions can express psychological disturbances as well as biological urges and drives. In sexual intercourse, both men and women often seek release from such psychic tensions as worries, fear, hostilities, and feelings of inferiority and guilt. In such matters, the effects of sexual intercourse are often disappointing. The individual may feel better for a time. But he is only scratching the itch, not correcting the conditions which

caused the itch. The temporary relief may prevent him from recognizing and correcting more basic difficulties.

### THE PROBLEM OF PHYSICAL RELEASE FOR WOMEN <sup>2</sup>

If sexual intercourse results in sexual release for almost all potent males, the situation for women is quite different. As we have seen, the older view was that women, or at least respectable women, had no sex feelings. Havelock Ellis, in his *The Sexual Impulse in Women*, quotes a number of "authorities" to this effect. One Dr. Acton, in a standard work on the reproductive organs, declared that attributing sex feelings to women was "a vile aspersion." Most women apparently accepted such appraisals of their own desires or else kept guiltily quiet. They submitted to the sexual embraces of their husbands in much the same spirit that the small boy submits to having his face washed. It was a somewhat unpleasant experience which they had to take because someone whom they loved or who had authority over them demanded it. After a while they developed skills in learning how to avoid it. Or after they got used to it, it wasn't too bad. For those who really remained passive, the problems of physical release were relatively minor. They might be missing a lot of pleasure, but apart from pregnancies, sexual intercourse did not make life more difficult.

In recent years this attitude has almost been reversed. Gradually people began to recognize that women had sexual feelings which were right and proper. These feelings in time became sexual rights. The demand for the satisfactions of these rights has swelled, at least in marriage manuals, into an impressive chorus. We are given the impression that women are at least as passionate if not more so than men, although, perhaps, a little slower in arousal. Husbands who fail to insure the joys and satisfactions of orgasms in their wives are, at least, sinfully negligent and, at worst, jeopardiz-

---

<sup>2</sup> For discussions of libido in women, see Conn, Greenblatt, Haggam, Hirst, C. Landis, Maslow, Salmon and Geist, and Woodside. Keiser discusses its psychopathology.

ing the very continuance of their marriages. Tietz and Weichert declare that the failure of the woman to attain orgasm "may lead to a restless search for gratification, sexual or otherwise, or may result in all kinds of bodily and mental symptoms" (p. 169). Stekel rather rashly affirmed that "A woman's lack of orgasm is always an alarm signal which means: There is something wrong with my love." It was left to Marie C. Stopes to pound the gong most alarmingly at this point. To her, such a failure "reduces her vitality and tends to kill her power of enjoying," (p. 40) causing "a veritable complex as lasting as life itself" which may lead to "suicide or insanity" (p. 31).

There is not the slightest evidence, either in research or critical "common sense observation" for such exaggerated claims. If women in a bygone age failed to secure sexual satisfactions, we might blame it on the bad attitudes and inhibitions built in them from childhood. But women of to-day, at least, modern "sophisticated" women, do not feel guilty, outraged, or passive. They come to the marriage bed convinced that they have sexual feelings and rights. Often they believe devoutly that sexual intercourse should be as releasing and as much fun for them as for their husbands. Yet every research study ever made on the subject agrees that most wives fail to attain such satisfactions. From anthropology (Mead, p. 294), psychosomatic medicine (Weiss and English, pp. 361, 362), sexology (Woodside, p. 134), sociology (J. Landis, pp. 32-34), and the Kinsey studies the testimony is unanimous. A large proportion of women, usually more than half, fail to achieve regular orgasm. They fail, not because of bad early training or the perfidy of their husbands, but because they themselves do not have what it takes. It would be fruitless to repeat here the contentions of a really voluminous discussion of this subject. We shall make only a few statements which summarize what seems now to be well-established scientifically.

1. A small proportion of women are more passionate than most men. They are as quickly and easily aroused. They attain orgasm sooner and experience multiple orgasms

far more frequently than do most men. Their husbands do not need to read any books or develop any special techniques to satisfy them. They need only to be able to hold out themselves.

2. A considerable proportion of women, perhaps a third to a half, can learn to enjoy sex relations passionately after some years of sexual experience. Kinsey points out that women reach their peak of sexual desire some fifteen or twenty years later than do their mates. Their husbands can help these women considerably by careful build-up, manual stimulation, delaying their own orgasms as much as possible, and following the usual "directions."
3. A large proportion of women lack the capacity, whether because of heredity or conditioning, for passionate responses to the sexual embrace. This may be their loss. But to blame them, or their husbands for failures at this point, is to place unnecessary strain upon a marriage. The capacity for sexual enjoyment among women seems to be much like the capacity to enjoy symphony concerts, play the violin, or do problems in calculus. Some take to it "naturally," some can learn in time, and many just do not seem to have what it takes. We would render mankind a great service if we would quit giving the impression that "everybody" can and should enjoy sexual intercourse.
4. The absence of orgasm in the wife need not seriously harm the marriage. As the J. Landis study showed, many wives have enjoyed happy marriages without ever finding sexual satisfaction. Lack of it will break up a marriage, only for those convinced that it is a "must."
5. Actually, we do not know much about the matter. What are the biological, psychological, or social factors which make some women responsive while others are not? What part do attitudes play and why? We need research, far more than we now have, before we can go much beyond the above simple conclusions. In the meantime, let us be cautious about how we present the



subject. There is, however, one further word of caution.<sup>3</sup>

Women who seem to be passive and think that they are passive may actually be quite otherwise. What is happening, for example, to a woman who has been taught to regard sex as shameful and degrading? During intercourse with her husband, her body may seem as passive as a dress form. Yet subconsciously she may be building up within herself a seething sense of shame and guilt. If, at the same time, she feels that she is being outraged to satisfy male bestiality, her very "passivity" may be building up to serious trouble in the future. These resentments may express themselves in various ways. She may develop unexplainable "headaches," or become chronically irritable and pick at her husband and children. She may have "nervous breakdowns" and "female complaints." Or, if she is more healthy mentally, she may have temper tantrums over nothing and even attack her husband physically. She is passive as a closed room with all the gas jets open.

#### THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE ON PHYSICAL HEALTH

There has been a widespread popular belief that sexual intercourse is a physical necessity, at least for men. People who want to believe this can find lots of "authorities" (people who write books) to back them up. M. C. Stopes quotes with approval a Dr. Arthur Cooper that "enforced and protracted continence is almost always injurious to a less or greater extent, according to its duration" (p. 245). Dr. Reich is quoted as declaring that "there is only one thing wrong with neurotic patients; the lack of full and repeated sexual satisfactions." (*Psychological Abstracts*, 1942, No. 4233.) Jules Guyot, writing in 1854, declares that "the exercise of the sex function, normally and completely, in the state of marriage, is neces-

---

<sup>3</sup> For further discussions of impotence and frigidity, see Bergler, Cooke, Hitschman, Menninger, Oltman, Podolsky, Popenoe, Schapiro, and Stekel. Psychological sterility is discussed by Jacobsen, Kelley, Lake, Menninger, and Robbins. Periodicity in women is discussed by Benedek and Rubenstein, Davis, McCance, *et al.*, Seward, and Stopes.

sary to health" (p. 204). Fielding declares that without such satisfaction "a nervous crisis sooner or later is apt to develop," while sexual well-being will result in "improved physical and mental health" (p. 120).

Others authors, while not claiming that continence results in harm, do attribute positive health advantages to sexual intercourse. Jesse Bernard reminds us that the organism craves contact, and sex is its most intimate form (p. 492). H. M. and A. Stone declare that "The moderate exercise of the sexual function . . . undoubtedly contributes to the physical and mental balance of a man or woman." "From a physiological point of view . . . sexual relations should be established soon after the complete sexual development," but because of our code this may be unwise (p. 299).

Such claims are vigorously disputed. Landis and Landis declare (p. 131) that "well-adjusted young people will suffer no ill effects" from continence while Levy and Munroe claim that sexual activity does not affect health, no matter what its form (p. 132). The British Social Hygiene Committee, which included a number of physicians, in 1926 issued a strong statement on this point. The Committee declared that continence has no harmful physical or social effects. On the contrary, irregular sex relationships are physiologically and socially harmful (*J. Soc. Hygiene*, vol. 15, pp. 513 ff). So what is the poor layman supposed to believe? So far as the physiological facts are concerned, the answer is easy. Normally potent males do need release. But nature has provided a means whereby all of them not only *can* get release; they *cannot help* but get it, without any need for sexual intercourse. This means is the nocturnal emission. If waiting for this is too distressing, there is always masturbation. There are no purely physiological valid grounds for claiming that heterosexual intercourse is necessary for men. However, psychosomatic factors, which include attitudes and points of view are real, as real as physical factors. And since these psychological elements affect the physical, we must take them into account even in appraising purely physical results.

Let us see how such attitudes operate. Here is a virile, potent young man who lives in the same house with an attractive woman. Will refraining from intercourse put the young man under considerable emotional strain? Actually what it does will depend largely upon his attitudes. If the woman is his sister, or his mother, or his daughter he may feel almost no strain. Long years of association in other connections may have combined with the incest taboos of his culture so that neither regards the other as a sex object. It is true that incest, even between mother and son, does exist in our culture. There may also be more sexual stimulation between relatives than most people are aware of. But such persons can sleep night after night under the same roof. They can wander with some degree of freedom in and out of each other's bedrooms in various stages of undress. And not only do they refrain from having sex relationships with each other. They do not even *feel* uncomfortable in their restraint or develop any subconscious repressions which can be identified.

If the girl is his wife, a man's attitudes and, therefore, the effects of abstinence or indulgence upon sex tensions and health will be quite different. These attitudes may vary considerably. Here is a young man coming home to a wife whom he dearly loves and from whom he has been absent for some time. As he approaches his home, he contemplates the sex relationships which he expects that night with considerable eagerness, and his sexual tensions arise to a high pitch. When he arrives home, however, he finds his wife ill. She is at once changed in his attitudes from a sex object to an object of solicitude and concern. The biological conditions which produced the tensions remain and may induce a nocturnal emission. But the psychological basis of the tension goes into reverse. He is able to sleep with his wife without approaching her sexually; something which would, under other circumstances, be an intolerable strain. Also, when a pregnancy exists he will sleep with her regularly, and be able to refrain from intercourse during the final period without serious strain.

Other attitudes may greatly diminish sex desire. We

pointed out that in an earlier period some husbands had been conditioned to feel that sex must not be felt toward a woman loved and respected and were, therefore, unable to respond sexually to their wives. Strong feelings of hostility can cause husbands to regard even beautiful wives as sexually repulsive.

Most husbands, however, regard their wives as sex objects. Unless a man feels that there is some adequate reason, such as illness, continued abstinence from sexual intercourse would put him under physical strain. If the wife, because of emotional blockages or hostilities, denies him sex relationships, such enforced continence may prove physically harmful. Conversely, if they settled any hostilities and established satisfactory sex relationships, the results would be physically beneficial.

What if the girl is neither a blood relative nor a wife? Here again, the crucial factor will be attitude. To the man who feels that sex relationships outside of marriage are sinful, intercourse may be physically harmful. If he does not regard them as wrong, he will probably not be harmed physically unless he contracts some disease. Scientific sex morality requires that the physical need for sexual intercourse be evaluated in terms of particular individuals and situations.

Sexual intercourse commonly has two other results which merit special consideration, pregnancy and venereal disease. We shall now consider them more fully.

## VENEREAL DISEASES

The word "venereal" comes from Venus, the goddess of love. The implication that gonorrhea and syphilis are sex diseases is correct. You can catch syphilis from kissing or from making a direct contact through a sore or cut with the sore or cut of an infected person. Babies can become infected with gonorrhea from their mothers at birth. But compared with colds, influenza, typhoid, and other diseases, the venereal diseases are relatively non-infectious. They can hardly be spread by coughing, sneezing, toilet seats, or the handling



of foods. The saying is, "You may be able to catch syphilis from the waitress, but not in the dining room." About nineteen out of twenty cases of venereal disease are contracted through sexual intercourse. Most of the remaining 5 per cent are contracted by newborn babies from their mothers or caught through kissing with sores or cuts on the lips (Tooker, p. 547).

In recent years medical science has made tremendous strides in the cure of VD, so much so that some people think that we just about have the problem licked. This is far from the truth. The increase in sexual promiscuity, resulting in part from the war, has largely offset medical gains. For example, while the armed forces were in actual combat, the rate was kept low. On V-E Day, the VD rate was seventy-four cases per 1000. As soon as the fighting ceased this rate quickly jumped to 264 cases per 1000 among the occupation forces. In 1945, 663,480 new cases were reported in the United States.<sup>4</sup> In 1948, 749,540 cases were reported *the first six months* (Clarke, p. 164). The rate had more than doubled within three years. In 1945, the number of new cases reported was about the same as that for diphtheria, malaria, pneumonia, polio, smallpox, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, typhus, and undulant fever combined.<sup>5</sup> In 1948, it would be correspondingly greater. It is estimated that from 2 to 5 per cent of our total population have VD (Vonderlehr, p. 456).

Remember, too, that venereal diseases are real diseases. People become sick and lose time from work. They must be hospitalized at great expense. Venereal diseases cause much sterility among men as well as among women. Syphilis causes a type of insanity. We make a great fuss about polio and raise huge sums to combat it. In 1947 the death rate for syphilis was seven times as great. VD is a serious health problem.

---

<sup>4</sup> *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1947, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Clarke, Marie Di Mario, and Mary Edwards estimated the 1935-40 syphilis rate at 3.4 per cent.

## PREGNANCY

One physical result of sexual intercourse which often occurs is pregnancy. In a later chapter we shall consider the circumstances under which pregnancy is moral. Here we are concerned with it as a physical result.

A Frenchman once tried to explain to his American friends that his wife was sterile, and he had difficulty in knowing just which words to use. First he said that she was "impregnable." Puzzled looks on the faces of his friends caused him to try again. So he said that she was "inconceivable," or, in other words, "unbearable." The confusion here illustrated lies as much in the English language as in the Frenchman. Our word "sterile" is far too clumsy and general a word to make the distinctions which are necessary to indicate the probabilities of pregnancy. At any one time it is probable that well over half of all females are "inconceivable"; that is, incapable of conceiving at the moment. But most of these women are not "unbearable" in the sense that they can never bear children. The reasons for this condition may be temporary. They cannot conceive because there is, at the time, no ovum to be fertilized (the so-called "safe" period); or they are already pregnant, and, therefore, sexual intercourse will not cause further pregnancy for some months to come. The reasons may be enduring, but not necessarily permanent. A large proportion cannot conceive because they are still too young. Others are "inconceivable" because of physical or psychological conditions which will in time correct themselves or which can be corrected by proper medical or psychiatric treatment. Therefore, they are not "unbearable."

In other cases the sterility is permanent and irremediable. This may be due to the completion of menopause. Every woman who lives long enough becomes "unbearable." Or it may be due to permanent immaturities, hysterectomies, or conditions which lie beyond the present developments of medical science to remedy. So much for the capacities of females to conceive. What about the abilities of males to cause conception?

Here we face similar situations. A large proportion of males are unable to cause conception because they are too young or too old, although infertility because of old age occurs much later than in the female. There seems to be nothing in the potent male which corresponds to the "safe" period in the female. Most males become temporarily impotent immediately after a sexual release; the interim varying with the individual, and especially with his age. A more serious problem is the lack of spermatozoa. The male seems normally potent, but his semen is deficient in either the quantity or the quality of spermatozoa, so fertilization cannot take place.<sup>6</sup>

With this larger background in mind, let us now consider the problems of pregnancy as usually faced by persons in our culture. The child too young to be "conceivable" has a sex life and sex problems, but pregnancy is not among them. Neither is it a problem for those who know that they are sterile. The real issue arises for those who are physically matured and potent and are still in the "childbearing" age.

For these, what are the chances of sexual intercourse resulting in pregnancy? Pearl estimates that for fertile persons under fifty who do not practice birth control, there will be one pregnancy for about every forty-four exposures. If you like to play with arithmetic, here is your chance. If you take the number of married couples in the United States, you can estimate, on the basis of studies made, the total number of sexual contacts per any given census year. Add to the number of births which occurred the following year the estimated number of miscarriages, abortions, and stillbirths, and you can guess the number of sexual contacts per pregnancy. But this estimate would include those permanently sterile, those "inconceivable" because of already existing pregnancies and other conditions, and those who practice birth control. Therefore you still have no valid estimates on the chances of conception for "conceivable" women who do not practice effective birth control. But let's keep at the problem, anyway.

---

<sup>6</sup> An excellent consideration of the medical aspects of this problem, written for the layman, is to be found in John Rock and David Loth's *Voluntary Parenthood* (New York: Random House, 1949), ch. iv and v.

Since about 10 per cent of the otherwise "normal" married couples are sterile, (Rock and Loth, p. 71) we might begin by saying that the chances of pregnancy are certainly less than 90 per cent. But this knowledge would be of little value for any particular couple; for if one or the other is sterile, the chances of pregnancy are not 90 per cent, but zero. If neither is permanently sterile, pregnancy is not certain. Persons who are highly fertile are "inconceivable" at times because of the temporary absence of an ovum, the way the spermatozoa happen to be placed, or other temporary conditions; but if fertile people continue to cohabit without effective birth controls, the chances of pregnancy are practically 100 per cent.

But if birth control is practiced, what then? It depends in part on the birth control. Some methods, including the "rhythm method," are grossly ineffective. (See Selwyn.) Some will work only with certain people. Some will work only if used carefully under excellent medical supervision. A study of some 10,000 cases shows that birth control was continuously effective in only 45 per cent of the situations. (Landis and Landis, p. 125.)

It is estimated that the number of deliberate abortions in the United States totals from a half million to a million each year. This number of couples try to avoid pregnancies and fail. An even larger number of the babies actually born are "accidents" whom their parents tried to prevent, though the parents were unwilling to go to the extreme of destruction. Such children are often welcomed and loved quite as much as those deliberately planned, but they do illustrate the relative ineffectiveness of present methods of birth control. For fertile couples who have sex relationships without controls, pregnancies every year or two are inevitable. Those who use birth control will experience fewer pregnancies, the number depending upon their care and the effectiveness of the methods employed; but they will usually have some. Except for those who are "unbearable," pregnancy is still an almost certain result of sexual intercourse. For fertile people abstinence is still the only completely certain method of birth control.



## CORRECTIONS

### PAGE 80, 2ND PARAGRAPH

*Typographical error:* "45 per cent" should read "55 per cent."

*Editorial omission. Add these sentences:*  
"The method employed in these cases is that most commonly used pre-maritally. The same authorities cite the 93 per cent effectiveness of the method most frequently recommended to married couples by their physicians when used according to medical directions."



Pregnancy has important effects upon health. For fathers it may cause worries and concerns which may affect their health. The significant physical results are for women. Something can be said for the positive side. Pregnancies often stimulate women and give to them a zest and a glow which leaves them in better health than before. The joys and fulfillment of motherhood may, as Karl Menninger is constantly emphasizing, improve their physical condition (see his *Love Against Hate*), but on the whole the physical results are not beneficial. Thousands of women die every year in childbirth, as they have since the human race began. Countless others have become worn out and brought to premature graves because of excessive childbearing. But don't blame all this on pregnancy. Until recently such results have been complicated by the hardness of life in general for both men and women. Yet even in our relatively easy culture, and with the best of help and medical attention, a single pregnancy may leave a woman permanently damaged in health. However much headway we may make in reducing these risks, we must still include serious physical harm and even death as among the possible physical results of pregnancy.

\* \* \*

Sexual intercourse has identifiable physical results which affect people. It provides intense physical pleasure and a resulting relief from tensions. It may also increase certain types of tensions. Apparently such pleasure, tensions, and relief affect health mainly because of the attitudes to which they are related. The serious effects upon health are to be found in venereal diseases and pregnancy. Venereal diseases, in ninety-five cases out of 100 a direct result of sexual intercourse, constitute one of our most serious health problems and one of the most difficult to make headway against. Pregnancy also has important health implications for the mother.

We have mentioned throughout our discussion the importance of attitudes and other psychic factors for physical health. Now let us see what some of these psychological results are in and of themselves.

## 5.

# The Psychological Effects of Sexual Intercourse

---

"I SHALL NEVER FORGET the first dissection I witnessed. As the professor who was doing the work proceeded, there before my very eyes appeared the major organs of the human body; heart, lungs, liver, kidneys. I could actually see them. Later on in operations I was to see them actually functioning in living bodies."

Those who study the physiology of sex have a similar advantage. They can actually see ovaries and testicles, actually feel the prostate gland. Even more important, they have a relatively well-developed science, based upon many years of careful research, to enable them to interpret and understand what they find. But those who study the psychology of sex; what have they? Can they actually see an attitude and bring it out on the operating table to examine? Can they feel the hopes, fears, loves, neuroses, and other psychological responses which associate with sexual intercourse? Obviously our bases of information are far less developed and far less adequate and definite than is our knowledge of physical aspects. Yet we do know something about the psychology of sex. Here are some of our major sources of information:

1. *Inferences from our general knowledge of human behavior.*

Competent scientists have been studying "human nature"



for a good many years and from a good many different points of view; psychology, psychometry, social anthropology, neurology, and social psychology to mention some of the more important. Our knowledge of the nature of attitudes, the ways in which they are learned and taught, their significance for behavior, and their effects upon persons is already considerable. Sex attitudes and feelings are but phases and aspects of the total personality. They follow essentially the same laws of development and change as do other attitudes and emotions. To understand other aspects of behavior is to know considerable about the psychology of sex conduct.

*2. Studies in the cultural aspects of sex.*

Social sex codes are the cumulative results of the sex attitudes and behavior of the people in the culture. Pioneers like Frazer, Sumner, and Westermarck made careful and valuable studies of the sex standards and taboos of primitive peoples. Later anthropologists, building upon their methodologies and insights, have turned to a study of our culture. Specialized studies have thrown much light upon certain aspects of current behavior.

*3. The impressions of careful students in the field of sex.*

Men like Jules Guyot, Havelock Ellis, and a host of others have been working in the field of sex conduct for many years. It is easy to shoot their works full of holes. Often they merely collected anecdotes which they used with little critical evaluation or investigation. The result is a series of rather uncritical impressions which they seem to have developed while lying about on sandy beaches gazing at the sky or, perhaps, more relevant phenomena. But they have made keen observations which are more than guesswork and collected much material of value to their successors.

*4. The clinical experiences and impressions of psychiatrists and competent counselors.*

Testing and measurement may be the most precise, but they are by no means the only sources of reliable knowledge.

Carefully evaluated experience is also of importance. Large numbers of competent men have had extensive experience with all sorts of sexual behavior. Their impressions and conclusions are far from final. Unquestionably they are of great value. K. Menninger's books and Hertzberg's *Active Psychotherapy* are examples of this source.

### 5. *Technical studies in the field.*

These are still comparatively few. They often have serious limitations. But they are attempts to get away from sheer guesswork and random observation. They are laying the foundations for a more substantial knowledge for the future. These are our major sources of information. Let us now see what we know.

## THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF ATTITUDES

Nobody noticed the banana peel on the steps, including Bill Green. Besides, Bill was a little late and did not want to keep his friends, lined up for the bus, waiting. So when he dashed down the steps his feet suddenly decided to go off on their own. His arms flew out, and one of his hands caught Mary Brown across the cheek with a resounding slap. All the crowd laughed; even Mary. But what if Bill walked up to Mary and deliberately slapped her in front of all their friends? The physical pain might have been no greater. But Mary's feelings, and those of her friends, would have been entirely different. Instead of amusement and then a concern about Bill, there would have been humiliation and a deep resentment. In many situations, the attitude of those involved is the most crucial factor.

So it is with sex. Animals and a few undeveloped human beings may be able to have sexual intercourse which is only biological. Human beings who have normal cultural relationships and emotional development cannot. "The localized physiological cravings are only one phase of far reaching and complex desires whose fulfillment is often far more vital to the individual than the mere release of sex tensions"

(Hart, p. 52). The meaning of the experience and the way the participants feel about it, which depend much upon the attitudes which they bring to it, are crucial. A woman who is "raped" by the husband with whom she sleeps nightly in the same bed will be affected differently than if she is raped in a vacant lot by a complete stranger. Her love and trust of her husband may in some ways increase her shock and hurt, but the effects of the experience will still be very different. Attitudes may cause one girl to regard her rape by a local gang leader as a high honor and another to regard it with horror and aversion. Countless illustrations from many situations might be given to show that the effects of sexual intercourse are determined largely by attitudes.

What is the basis of the psychological satisfactions of sex? Balint offers as his recipe, mixing up idealization, tenderness, and identification with the physical pleasures. Eliasberg says that gratification results when physical detumescence is not followed by psychological detumescence. Translated, this seems to mean that the real joy is when you have a warm glow of emotional satisfaction which lasts long after it is all over physically. Reik declares that matured sexual satisfaction results only when the physical is mingled with love and ego needs, an imagery of the ego ideal being crucial. "The main enjoyment of sexual intercourse is not the touch of two skins but the unconscious exchange of two roles, the secret interplay of two emotions" (p. 210). "What takes place in the union of two bodies is an expression of what happens in the emotional love of two persons" (p. 213). Therefore, "sexual intercourse mirrors in their finest nuances and shades the attitudes which two persons have toward each other" (p. 204). E. C. Turner makes a suggestion which should be eagerly received by people who like "whodunits"—that in coitus the male simulates killing the female. The female goes him one better. She not only "kills" her sexual partner, but "devours" him as well. Nietzsche in like vein said, "Courtship is combat and mating is mastery."<sup>1</sup>

Where do these attitudes which make so much difference

---

<sup>1</sup> For further discussion see Kempf, Miles, Myerson, Rosanoff, and Slater.

in sexual satisfaction, come from? Partly from the culture and partly from the individual. In more primitive cultures the patterns of expectation and response are more rigid. The members of the culture are much more alike in both behavior and attitude than they are in larger and more liberal cultures. We know that the "same" family is not the same for any of its members. Likewise, in the "same" culture individuals react to their cultural conditioning in different ways. Therefore, attitudes are always individual in part. Some individuals even break with or transcend their cultures, although they are not thereby unaffected by them. Those whose deviations are considered a break are regarded as criminals, traitors, or heretics. Those who transcend are regarded as prophets and saints. The line of demarcation is not always clear or generally accepted. In any case, as Georgene Seward has pointed out, "the physical sexual relationship . . . must be seen in its proper setting (which) . . . involves the whole of both personalities in the partnership and the role they are trained to play and to expect from their partners" (p. 190). (See also John L. Honigmann's study of the Kaska Indians.)

How do people get these attitudes toward sexual intercourse which are so important in determining their psychological effects? Physical factors, such as sterilization, have their influence. (See Woodside.) But two points of focus have been the major centers of concern; childhood and the experience of the first night of marriage. Let us consider childhood first. It has long been taken for granted by child psychologists that the earliest experiences are most influential. This is also a major emphasis of Freud. Further study has not changed this position. It has, rather, pushed the crucial time back even further than was first thought. The first six years are important, but more so are the first six months or even the adjustments of the first six weeks. What does all this mean for sex attitudes? Negatively, it was felt that children must be protected from any severe emotional shocks which might warp their whole future attitudes and make impossible the sexual satisfactions of adult marriage. Positively, they must be taught that sex is normal and wholesome. Years ago,



what children had to be protected from was any sex experiences or knowledge. Hence children of the opposite sex who undressed each other or otherwise engaged in "sex play" were often severely punished. Later it was pointed out that such adult reactions merely drew more attention to the matter. Furthermore, in some cultures, such as the Italian, children of both sexes went naked until pubescence, apparently without harmful effects. It would be better, therefore, as some progressive schools actually have done, to satisfy such natural curiosity by allowing children freely to see each other nude and to answer honestly any natural questions which might arise because of outward physical differences between boys and girls.

It was still felt, however, that sexual approaches from adults might do serious damage. This contention sounds reasonable, but has not been validated by any studies so far made. L. Bender and A. Blau in their study of the reaction of children to sexual relations with adults found no harmful psychological results unless the adult had also tried to hurt the child. The Terman studies found the same thing except where the sex shock had occurred between the ages of ten and fifteen (pp. 252, 264). Although such evidence is far from conclusive, it is not contrary to what we might expect. To begin with, such approaches would hardly be made when the child is really most impressionable—during the first few months of life. Secondly, sex is not shocking until people have been conditioned to feel so. By the time a child is older, he has come to absorb much of the standards and attitudes of his culture. Hence an approach between ten and fifteen did result in shock.

What about the positive side of the situation? Terman again says, "Not proved." He finds little correlation between sex attitudes and happiness in later marriage. "The premarital attitude of 'eager and passionate longing' is almost as unfavorable to happiness as an attitude of 'disgust and aversion'" (p. 250). It may be that an attitude which over-emphasizes the sexual aspects of marriage is quite as unfavorable as one which regards it with regret, or it may be

that Terman's sampling was too small. But in any case, it seems certain that other factors are as important, if not more so.

Similar findings have been made about the importance of the bridal night. If a man is on the edge of a precipice, a slight push may prove fatal. If he lies dangerously wounded or ill, a sudden jolt, or even a loud noise, may mean death. Likewise, if a person is already seriously maladjusted, a somewhat clumsy sexual approach by the husband might, as M. C. Stopes suggests, drive the bride "to suicide or insanity" (p. 31). So also might the failure of a letter to arrive as expected, or the accidental breaking of a favorite vase. "After the horrors of a bridal night," declaims Margaret Sanger, "women have been known to leave inexperienced husbands forever" (p. 85). They have also left because the husband ate crackers in bed, failed to shave often enough, or played bridge with the boys. Given the right situation, almost anything will be regarded with horror and may destroy a marriage. But to imply that sexual clumsiness on the wedding night is likely to destroy a marriage is like saying that a game of tennis is likely to prove fatal. Actually, as the Stones suggest (p. 210) the first sex acts are likely to prove unsatisfactory. In a study of fifty women who had been married from two to twenty-seven years, Rabbi Brav found that 74 per cent regarded the honeymoon experience as successful, despite the fact that half of them failed to achieve sexual harmony. For mentally healthy persons, these early failures are apparently not too important. Terman found that "a bride who recoils at mere thought of the sexual act may, after a time, come to enjoy it keenly" (p. 248). As Seward suggests, "the psychologically important thing is that the partners be ready to assimilate the new experience" (p. 197).

#### SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AS A CHANNELING OF FEELINGS

The passion which unites the sexes . . . is habitually spoken of as though it were a simple feeling, whereas it is the most compound . . . of all the feelings . . . round the

physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole, are gathered the feelings . . . of reverence, of love of approbation, of self-esteem, of property, of love, of freedom, of sympathy . . . as each of them is of itself comprehensive of multitudinous states of consciousness, this passion fuses into one immense aggregate most of the elementary excitations of which we are capable.

HERBERT SPENCER.

In most psychological studies of sex behavior we have tried to find out *why* people acted as they did, rather than the effects of such behavior. We have gone from the present to the past for *explanation*. Morality goes from the present to the future for *evaluation*. In morals as in any science, this future is predicted on the basis of what we know of the past. We make a known past our starting point, and a known present our "future." To put it technically, the causal sequence is also a result sequence. To say that a man acts from this or that motive is to say also that the effect of his conduct is to satisfy (so he thinks) this or that desire. Or, among the results of sex behavior is a channeling of feelings. Let us look briefly at this matter of feelings.

People have feelings, strong, weak, and in-between. They love, hate, desire, fear, resent, or approve. The ways in which these feelings arise and become attached to this or that person, object, or cause is an involved technical problem which we shall not develop here. We should recognize, however, that these feelings do get all mixed up. Thus the man whose hatred is really felt toward his father may turn that hatred toward Negroes, Jews, cops, or "capitalists" without being aware of what he is doing. The mother who "overloves" her child by "spoiling" him may really be trying to conceal from herself a basic rejection and resentment of him. But however they arose and whatever they mean these feelings are there.

These feelings or emotions may be likened to streams of water, striving to find outlets. Some of them are small and feeble. Like a pail of water thrown on the ground, they become speedily absorbed into the soil of living without much effect except, perhaps, a slight and temporary muddying of

relationships. If they are larger and stronger, yet are blocked, they may gather into stagnant pools of resentment and cynicism. Sometimes they are too powerful to be denied. Like a river, they find outlets; sometimes underground, and sometimes carving great channels for themselves, regardless of obstacles. But strong or weak, great or small, all seek and probe for channels through which they can flow and find expression.

What happens to these emotions and the ways in which they are or are not channeled makes a great difference to people. We all know people whose emotional outlets have become so completely blocked that they have dried up and become soured on life. If the feelings are driven underground, the results may be even more serious. The individual often becomes warped and distorted. In turn he may wage deadly and implacable war upon his fellow men. This war may be the openly violent assaults of the criminal and the "cop-killer." It may be the subtle war of the highly respectable parents who "take out" their hostilities on their children. It may come out in agitators of race hatred. It may come out in excessive demands which lead to world war. No more serious problem confronts the human race than that of finding wholesome and desirable outlets of feelings.

Sexual intercourse is one way in which many feelings are channeled. As such it has psychological effects upon people. These effects may be good, bad, or both, depending upon the circumstances and the people involved. Our next task is to consider the kinds of feelings which are frequently expressed through sexual intercourse and how such channeling affects people.

## LOVE AND SEX

To me, the most enjoyable part of a lecture is the question period. Usually I have them written out and handed in. People feel less embarrassed that way, and it makes it easier for the speaker to keep record of them. Here are some which have come in at various times on the subject of this section.



"My boy, on vacation from college, tells us that according to science, love is just a polite word for sex. Is this true?"

"My husband likes to hold our seven-year-old daughter on his lap and cuddle and pet her. One of my friends says that this is a form of incest which will develop complexes in our little girl. She got it from a book of psychology. It bothers me quite a bit. Can you straighten us out?"

"My mother tells me that I shouldn't play with my baby so much because it isn't wholesome for me and will spoil him. But I just can't help it. I love him so much. Am I wrong?"

"Why didn't you tell your audience that if a man and wife truly love each other, neither will have any sex interest in anybody else?"

"Why isn't homosexuality just as true a form of love as the other kind?"

We might list many more questions, but these are a fair sample. All of them point to one thing—that large numbers of people are badly mixed up about the relationship of love and sex. Let us consider these questions in the order stated, and see how much truth there is in them.

Is love only another term for sex? When the ideas of Freud first hit this country, many people were knocked on their beam ends, not only by what he said but by what they thought he said. Furthermore, our knowledge of the dynamics of personality was so slight that it was simpler and easier to interpret behavior in biological terms. Luska represented the immature naïveté of that earlier period when he stated in 1915 that "all the world is today agreed that love is nothing but the refinement of the sexual impulse" (p. 209). What does he mean by the term "love"? Does he include the love felt toward members of the same sex, or by parents toward their children? People love horses, woods and templed hills, literature, art, music, and banana splits. Are such feelings sexual? Some people would answer, "Yes." Boys much too young to be capable of sex relations with anybody are said to have "incestuous" feelings toward their mothers and to be sexually jealous of their fathers. Love between members of the same

sex is interpreted as obviously homosexual. As to non-personal objects, the beauty of naves and pillars in buildings, and even scenery, is interpreted as phallic symbols. Such supposedly Freudian views have assumed a prominent place in our thinking. They have apparently been confirmed by disturbing reports of not only our heterosexual conduct, but also such aberrations as homosexuality. Many people have been ready to believe that anything may be true, and probably is. In consequence, some parents have feared that they might themselves cherish concealed incestuous feelings toward their own children, and that in cuddling or otherwise physically loving them they may be merely expressing their own libidos. To allay such absurd fears and promote a point of view which is both more scientific and more wholesome, we shall give some consideration to the implications involved.

Certainly sex is present in more aspects of life than we formerly supposed just as sugar is present in most fruits and vegetables as well as in sugar bowls. But it is as absurd to label everything as sex as it would be to call grapes, plums, and apples only different forms of sugar. Certainly with people who are mentally ill almost any object can become sexual in nature, just as butcher knives, ball bats, and vases can, in the hands of murderous people, become instruments of death. But interpretations of ordinary behavior in terms of mental derangement tell us more about the interpreters than about normal people. We know that everyone has a sex life as soon as, if not, before he is born. But we cannot interpret his feelings toward the adults who take care of him as "incestuous" without completely changing the usual meaning of the term.

Now let us take up the question of the woman who is worried because her husband likes to cuddle their daughter. Most parents at times feel like murdering their children so it would not be surprising if incestuous feelings were occasionally present. But if we could prove that many foods have minute quantities of poison, they would not thereby become fatal or even a menace to health. Our only ethical question

is whether such "incestuous" feelings are strong enough to damage the persons involved. In a few cases they are. If the parents got satisfactions out of deliberately stimulating the genitals of the child, or delighted in sadistically causing unnecessary suffering, or tried to secure an exploitative and harmful possessiveness, we would rightly suspect that the incestuous feelings had got out of bounds. There might also be other and unrelated reasons for such behavior. But with most parents there is no such dangerous extreme. They have a genuine and essentially non-sexual love for their children, and any sexual element is too slight to cause damage.

As to physical expressions of such affection, our best studies (Ribble's, for example) indicate that they are not only harmless, but necessary for emotional development. Our mother who fondles, plays with, "bites," and otherwise cuddles the baby (assuming that she has reasonable mental health) is doing the very thing which the baby needs most. So if a wholesome mother wants to take her four-year-old son in bed with her, let her do so unperturbed by the arched eyebrows of people who have been splashed by a little Freud. Actually with most groups in our culture, the incest taboos are accepted more widely and with less psychological conflict and disturbance than almost any other. So go ahead, parents. Love your children and quit worrying about it.

What about this matter of homosexuality? In other cultures men who feel love for each other freely embrace and kiss. In ours, physical contacts are usually limited to hand-shaking and shoulder slapping. Our women are allowed much more freedom in their expressions of affection. Homosexuality is unquestionably much more common with us than is incest. But real affection does exist between members of the same sex, and it is absurd to assume that physical expressions of it must necessarily be homosexual. Members of the same sex who love each other feel and behave quite differently toward each other than do the homosexuals. Such differences are often clearly evident in such things as the type of kiss and embrace, and whether or not there is an extensive manual feeling of the body and corresponding re-

sponse. Much of the hugging and kissing among women of our culture is not homosexuality nor expressions of love. It is more of a fraud and a somewhat futile attempt to conceal deep jealousies and hostilities.

The boy from college who announced that love is only sex, probably did not include parent-child and other "non-erotic" types of relationships. He was probably referring to the "boy-meets-girl" type. Here we certainly have a different situation. Heterosexual intercourse has always been recognized as an important channel for the expression of love. In overwhelming testimony, authors and poets have lifted the love interest from the hearts of men and made it into words more enduring than stone. In all ages and cultures emerges, in countless forms, "love's old, sweet song." Aeneas and Dido, Dante and Beatrice, Romeo and Juliet; these names suggest some of the better known love classics of history and story. Such love has not always been associated with marriage. In some cultures it was expected that marriage choices would be made for economic or family reasons. Only by rarest chance would the lover also be the spouse. Nor was it expected that the love would be either monogamous or enduring. Sometimes, as in the Song of Solomon, the sexual elements of this love are unashamedly and joyously expressed. At other times the erotic elements are concealed or blurred, or, as in the defloration passage of *My Wild Irish Rose*, peculiarly overlooked. But whether boldly presented or subtly camouflaged, the testimony of the ages is unmistakable and overwhelming. Sex is a prominent channel for the expression of love.

When naked both, thou seemest not to be  
 Contiguous, but continuous parts of me;  
 And we in bodies are together brought  
 So near, our souls may know each other's thought  
 Without a whisper:

SIR FRANCIS KYNASTON,  
*"To Cynthia, on her Embraces": Cythiades.*

But because a pipe channels water does not mean that pipes and water are merely different words for the same



thing. We rightly recognize that in rape and most prostitution, sexual intercourse is an animal indulgence unrelated to love. Within other relationships including marriage, it can mean a using of one person for satisfaction without regard for the wishes or well-being of the other. It is true that the exploiter may both profess and feel a certain kind of "love" for his victim, just as the man who is cutting off the head of a rooster "loves" chicken, or a girl about to romp through a box of candy "loves" chocolates. But the word "love" is obviously used in an entirely different sense than it is when it means a desire for the happiness and well-being of others.

This difference between sexual love and sexual exploitation is clearly and generally recognized. As Reik suggests, "All the world loves a lover, but not all the world loves a man because he wants to go to bed with a woman" (p. 5). Sherif and Cantril point out that such distinctions are made, even by prostitutes. Ordinarily, their sex relationships meant nothing emotionally. "But when these prostitutes were with their husbands, . . . sweethearts, or boy friends, the sex act took on a very different character: the women reported that *they* took part in it as individuals, that it was happening to them, not just to their bodies" (p. 388). As Sheila Cousins pathetically testifies, "where sex is merely a commodity . . . the faintest spark of personal affection grows to be worth a fortune" (p. 182).

We need not belabor this point indefinitely. Reik lists ten major differences between sex as merely biological desire and love as an emotional craving. The distinctions between love and sex may briefly be summarized as follows. Sex, as such, is basically physical response, sharply limited, restricted, and brief. In masturbation it can reach even the climax of orgasm without even involving anybody else. Love, on the other hand, is basically psychic. Its essence is response to the personality of others. Far from requiring physical contact, we can love people whom we have never seen and who have long since died. And physical elements are secondary and subsidiary. Sex as such is direct, simple, and need involve the response of only a fragment of the personality. Love involves

the response of a personality to a personality. Sex, as such, is concerned only with gratifying its own desires, mainly in the securing of physical satisfactions and release, without regard to the interests or welfare of others. Love, on the other hand, "seeketh not its own." Sex desire may be present, but it is made to be contributory. If it conflicts with love, it is love which determines the conduct, and the lover prefers it so. Love and sex, then, in their unmixed forms, are far from identical and often antithetical, not only ethically, but psychologically, sociologically, and in all important respects. Love and sex, like steel and concrete, can be combined so they can mutually strengthen each other. But no informed person will confuse the two. Sexual intercourse which is merely personal indulgence has quite different psychological effects from sexual intercourse which mingles with and channels a larger love and response of personalities toward each other. Therefore, it is morally in a different category.

Call it not love, for Love to heaven is fled  
 Since sweating Lust on earth usurped his name;  
 Under whose simple semblance he hath fed  
 Upon fresh beauty, blotting it with blame;  
     Which the hot tyrant stains and soon bereaves,  
     As caterpillars do the tender leaves.

Love comforteth like sunshine after rain,  
 But Lust's effect is tempest after sun;  
 Love's gentle spring doth always fresh remain,  
 Lust's winter comes ere summer half be done;  
     Love surfeits not, Lust like a glutton dies;  
     Love is all truth, Lust full of forged lies.

SHAKESPEARE, *Venus and Adonis*

But if love and sex are not the same, neither is it true, as one of our questions assumed, that, as Edmund Bergler has put it, a person really in love "is interested exclusively in the object of his own choice." (*Unhappy Marriage*, 19.) We need not here go through the voluminous evidence from history, anthropology, and studies in sex behavior to refute such wish thinking. We certainly have no basis for asserting that

the love which men and women feel for each other in polygamous societies is not real. The behavior of both men and women in supposedly monogamous societies, some of whom are "truly in love" with their mates, indicates unmistakably that most people are, to use a helpful phrase of Havelock Ellis, polyerotic. There are many and good reasons for monogamy. But men and women who remain monogamous will do so because of standards and ideals, not because no one but the beloved can be sexually appealing. Nor would such claims, even if true, give support to moral ideals. For in the absence of temptation there is no moral choice.

To summarize, we normally express love through physical contacts. Toward children, members of the same sex and relatives the sexual element, if it exists at all, is not significant with normal people in our culture. Toward attractive members of the opposite sex, however, there is a very general desire to express affection through sexual channels. The circumstances under which such expressions may be right or wrong is not our concern here. Sexual intercourse is by no means necessarily an expression of love. Far from being identical, sex and love are basically different at several vital points. Neither does love keep people from being interested in other possible sex objects. But sexual intercourse is one important way in which people can and do express and channel a much larger and more comprehensive love.

## EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Elsie Ford was smart; at least, she thought that she was. Just because she wasn't married she saw no reason why she should forego the joys of sex, especially when there was such an attractive man as Bill Brown to share them with. She knew how to take care of herself, too; so she thought. Biologically, she came out all right. She neither became pregnant nor caught venereal disease. It was in the realm of psychology that she was "innocent," and it was there she got caught. She knew how to prevent conceiving a baby, but she did not know how to prevent conceiving a deep and emo-

tional attachment for her sex partner. The end of the vacation period came, and Bill was ready to call it quits and say thank you for a nice time. Not so with Elsie. She had developed a real and imperative need to have the relationship continue. She was in real anguish as she poured out her story.

Sexual intercourse not only channels a love which already exists; under some circumstances it may create it. This result of sexual intercourse within marriage has frequently been noted. Havelock Ellis proclaimed sexual activity as "a function by which all the finer activities of the organism, physical and psychic, may be developed and satisfied." To Dr. Dreikurs it is a "tool which can unite two persons more closely than anything else. Through sex two may become one, physically and spiritually." (p. 65.) We might present numerous other quotations in the same vein. But, and here is the catch which most writers fail to note and discuss, if sexual intercourse produces such results within marriage, will it not do likewise outside of marriage? And if it does produce such results, how does the situation of not being married affect the persons involved?

If both parties to the relationship are unmarried and both become similarly involved, there is usually little problem. They simply marry and the relationship continues. But it rarely works out to this happy end. Sometimes one or both are already married. Because they still love their mates, or feel a sense of obligation to them, or because they feel that they would suffer socially, they are unwilling to get a divorce. In some instances, other circumstances make marriage unacceptable to one or both. In *Kitty Foyle* the love was real and mutual. But Kitty simply could not, and was unwilling to, fit into the pattern of life which the life of an uppercrust wife in a highly respectable Philadelphia family would require. Sometimes, one partner is infantile, unwilling, and unable to accept the responsibilities of family life and not ready to marry anyone. Or it may be that for the man the relationship has remained mainly on a physical level. He may want to end it and establish relationships with someone



else, just at the time when it has come to mean most to the girl, who is the one most likely to become involved. The girl then finds herself a kind of emotional Pygmalion, with built-up hungers and desires which she can no longer satisfy. The moral implications of this situation will be developed more fully in a later chapter.

### *Other Emotional Feelings*

Mary Day just hadn't been built right. To begin with, she was both "cosmetically" and "architecturally" unfortunate. Men didn't whistle. Mary had neither the skills to cover up these limitations, nor the money to hire make-up artists and costumers to do it for her. Nor did she have personality qualities to compensate for her lack of physical appeal. She was not very bright and her conversational contributions rarely went beyond, "Oh, yeah," and "I'll tell the world." She had grown up in a family unloved and neglected. Therefore, her attention was always centered upon herself. Yet she had most of the same needs which all of us have. She needed attention. She needed to have people who would accept her. She needed to be loved. How could she get them? It is all very well for girls who have some looks, personality, and charm to say that you don't need to pet in order to get dates. But Mary had just one contribution to make to any association with men; to make her body available for physical manipulation. As we would expect, it soon led to pregnancy and quick desertion by the father. Because Mary could not take care of herself and had no family to protect her, she was "delinquent." We have long recognized what M. L. Webb points out—that young delinquent girls come from deprived home backgrounds which have left them emotionally starved.<sup>2</sup> From Mary's standpoint, however, the results of

---

<sup>2</sup> Wittkower and Cowan's study of delinquency in the British Army and Sheldon and Eleanor Gleuck's study of delinquent women revealed similar backgrounds of deprivation and emotional hunger. The report of the California Department of Public Health likewise recognized sexual delinquency as "symptomatic behavior arising out of neurotic conflict." (p. 22.) (See also Lion, Corrigan, and Bradley.)

sexual intercourse included attention from men, a limited acceptance, and, temporarily, a rather poor substitute for the love she craved. Less happy results included not only her pregnancy but the bitterness of disillusionment which came from recognizing that she had not been loved, only used. From our standpoint should come a recognition that sex can do many things beside give physical satisfactions and channel love. Sexual intercourse is a means for the channeling of all sorts of emotions.

Eliasberg's study on pornography illustrates what has long been known, that "unnatural" forms of sexual behavior may express disturbances. It is less well understood that the more "normal" sexual intercourse even of respectable and responsible groups often expresses psychological needs of which the individual is largely unaware. Levy and Munroe tell the story of the man who was caught in adultery by his wife with one of her best friends (ch. 3). The case presented puzzling features. Why had the man taken time off from work to visit his mistress, instead of going in the evening? Why had he gone at the very time when his wife had said she planned to visit her friend? You probably have guessed it. The husband deliberately planned to be caught. What he really wanted was not sex indulgence. It was to hurt his wife, even at considerable cost to himself. Sex behavior is often an expression of hostility. Many authorities agree with Menninger (*Love Against Hate*) that aggressively promiscuous Don Juans "do not love their sexual objects; they seek rather to conquer them or to destroy them" (p. 59). (See also Reik, p. 161.) The search for a "Mother Image" and subconscious homosexuality are also offered as explanations.

A problem meriting special attention is that of various forms of "self-assurance." For various reasons, real or imagined, people feel inferior. They may worry about the decline in physical and sexual powers which comes with age (hence, the "bald-headed row"). They may be afraid of losing their physical appeal or have doubts about their masculinity or femininity. Therefore, they engage in a round of sexual escapades to support and inflate the ego and prove

to themselves that they are still virile and potent and capable of winning attention and friends. As Magoun says (p. 95), "Much intercourse, both in and out of marriage, is due to feelings which are not the individual's true feelings."<sup>3</sup>

Merely identifying the feelings and emotions channeled through sexual intercourse is often a complex and involved problem. How much more difficult is the task of determining the effects of such channeling upon people! Often we, as yet, have no valid answers. We can only ask questions which if answered would help us decide the issue of morality. One kind of question would concern the probable success of sexual intercourse in meeting the hunger which it channeled. This girl is hungry for love. Will sexual intercourse satisfy this hunger or make it worse, and under what conditions? This man feels hostile. Will sex behavior satisfy his desire for revenge, and at what price? This woman feels humiliated and insecure. Will attracting men and consorting with them sexually make her feel less so? Obviously the answers to such questions will vary with the individuals and the total situations. The next section in the book will indicate how the different situations under which sexual intercourse takes place may affect their results.

A second question concerns the desirability of the result if it should be achieved. We might agree that if sexual intercourse increases love, it is to this extent, good. Is it also good to satisfy the desire of a person to harm others? Is the kind of psychological release or the kind of ego inflation which results from sexual conquests desirable, either for self or for society? Such questions, also, we shall only raise here, leaving their answers to further discussion or the decisions of others.

## OTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL RESULTS

Sexual intercourse not only channels feelings and emotions. It also develops them. We have already discussed

---

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of this point, see A. H. Maslow, Benedek (p. 156 ff.), Seward, (*circa* p. 202).

some of its effects upon love. Another problem concerns shame and guilt. When children were strongly conditioned against sex this problem was, as we have indicated, often serious. Even within marriage some husbands and wives, especially, were often haunted by damaging feelings of guilt and shame. In more recent times, such results are less common. But they are far from gone, especially regarding sexual intercourse outside of marriage. Feelings of shame and guilt are still important psychological results.

Two problems in this connection merit special mention—impotency and frigidity. Does frigidity result, as Hitschman and Bergler maintain, from libidinous and aggressive factors? To what extent is impotence a blockage of transferred incest taboos, as Reik suggests (p. 22)? We need not here answer, or even extensively discuss, such possibilities. Still less can we review the extensive literature on the subject. It is enough for us to recognize what Bergler discovered in his *Short Genetic Survey of Psychic Impotence* that at least nine cases out of ten of impotence are strongly affected by psychological factors. As to frigidity, Reik states that it results from a lack of confidence and respect. A woman wants to live with a man, not merely to sleep with him (p. 215). This rather bald position seems to be well confirmed by studies. One of the best of these was that made by Benedek and Rubenstein, who used the significant technique of vaginal smears. They found the problem to be definitely psychosomatic. Bergler in his *Problem of Frigidity* discussed four theories and eight symptomatic types and came to the conclusion that frigidity is a symptom of neurosis. In a similar vein, Podolsky suggests that the cure for frigidity is to bring our girls up to have wholesome attitudes from childhood. For our purposes it is enough thus to establish the significance of attitudes.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF PREGNANCY

As an entire chapter will be devoted to the morality of pregnancy, we shall here merely list briefly some of the pos-



sible results. We have already noted that the physiological effects tend to be on the debit side of the ledger. What about the psychological effects?

### *Shame and Guilt*

If the pregnancy is illegitimate, especially under certain circumstances, it may result in considerable shame and guilt on the part of either mother or father. If the couple is married and have determined not to have children, such a slip may also result in some feelings of humiliation and defeat.

### *Resentment and Rejection* <sup>4</sup>

If pregnancy does result in shame and guilt, there is likely to be a considerable feeling of resentment and rejection. The resentment may be by either, or both, the father and the mother toward each other or toward the coming child.

In more cases than is commonly recognized legitimate parents, mothers as well as fathers, resent the physical disadvantages, the expense, the constriction of activities, and the other costs of children. In other cases hostilities felt toward others, such as one's own parents, may be directed toward an unborn child and continue after birth.

### *Anticipation and Joy*

For many women pregnancy is eagerly sought and accepted with great anticipation and joy. Such joy is often especially great with women who have eagerly desired children and have had difficulty in conceiving. For the father also, an awareness that a much-desired family is on the way may be met with considerable satisfaction, pride, and happiness.

### *Fulfillment*

Karl Menninger (*Love Against Hate*) has presented an interesting thesis; that the sexual needs of women include not only "the enjoyment of sexual intercourse, but also the

---

<sup>4</sup> See also Moya Woodside, "Psychological and Sexual Aspects of Sterilization in Women."

experience of pregnancy and childbirth." The latter he regards as "her primary safeguard against her own aggressive impulses." He attributes much neurosis to a failure of women to have enough children to satisfy themselves sexually. Motherhood he regards as the soundest basis for social fulfillment, as well as more individual psychological satisfactions (pp. 51 ff). The Groves were among others who have insisted that children are important for sex fulfillment. (See their *Sex Fulfillment in Marriage*, pp. 305 ff. See also Kirkpatrick's discussion of feminism and marital adjustment.)

We might raise serious questions at the generalizing which this thesis implies. However, for women of certain bio-psychic predispositions who have learned to love, motherhood is unquestionably a vital essential for fulfillment.

### *Attitude Toward Baby*

Obviously every baby owes his physical existence to a pregnancy which resulted from sexual intercourse. It is less well understood that the kind of person into which he develops will be largely determined by the attitudes with which he is received, the love he does or does not get, whether he is regarded primarily as a burden and a nuisance, or a satisfaction and a joy. The psychological effects of pregnancy may be of crucial importance, for out of them grow the future personalities and characters of the race.

In any particular case the determination of which of these psychological effects are, or are not, likely to result is obviously a complicated problem. Even if we knew with certainty, we would have only partly solved our problem. For every situation is a mixture of goods and evils which must be weighed against each other. Sexual intercourse which satisfied the love hungers of a woman would be, so far, good. But if this satisfaction were only temporary, it might leave her worse than before. Furthermore, if she also contracted gonorrhea and became sterile, any goods would be greatly outweighed. Likewise, if a child were eagerly desired, this would be good. But if the parents were unable to provide it with a sound physical and mental heritage, the eagerness

would become an avenue to evil. This matter of morality is not simple in any area of life.

\* \* \*

So where have we come in this chapter? We have seen, first of all, that sexual intercourse among humans is not merely a simple biological experience, but often an involved response of extraordinarily complex personalities. The effects which it has and, hence, its morality will depend in part upon the attitudes of those who participate in the relationship. These crucial attitudes result in part from early childhood experiences and from the satisfaction or shock of the first sexual contact. Yet the effects of these have often been greatly exaggerated.

Some of the most important effects are those related to its channeling of love. There has been great confusion at this point. Some parents have absurdly feared that the cuddling of children was incestuously harmful. It can be but rarely is. Others have felt that since sex is so prominently involved in the love of men and women, love and sex are the same thing. Although they can intermingle and mutually support each other, actually they are different at every basic point. Sex does often result, however, in emotional involvements which can cause much grief if they happen outside of marriage. Sex is also sometimes sought as a substitute for love, usually with tragic results.

Other emotions are often prominently related to, and channeled through, sex. Feelings of hostility and inferiority are often so expressed. Shame and guilt which can reach even the extremes of frigidity and impotence are among other psychological results of sexual intercourse. Pregnancy has important psychological repercussions which may be good or bad, depending largely upon the character and maturity of those involved.

But after we have said all the above, we must recognize that we know only in part. At many points we must ask questions, rather than answer them. Yet here, as is so often the case, the intelligent asking is a long step toward the answer.

## 6.

### Social Results of Sexual Intercourse

---

WHEN I WAS A BOY we lived near the old Erie Canal. For my friends and me it was primarily an opportunity to go swimming. We acted and almost felt as though the State of New York had gone to all that expense and trouble just so we could have fun. Not until much later did I come to appreciate the more serious purposes which its builders had in mind and the tremendous influence it had in opening up the West and developing New York into a great port.

Many people still have a child's attitude toward sex. They do not realize that it is the result of an evolutionary process covering hundreds of thousands of years. To them, sex is just "there," like the Erie Canal was for us. They seem to think that the main purpose of sex is to enable them to have fun. As we mature we come to see that in developing sex, Nature has had a far more serious purpose—to maintain the human race.<sup>1</sup>

#### MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

How does sex desire maintain the human race? At first, the answer seems simple. Sex desire impels men and women to cohabit with each other. As a result, children are born and the race is perpetuated. If mere birth were the only essential,

---

<sup>1</sup> Seward Hiltner, in his excellent discussion, indicates the basic purposes of sex as 1. propagation, 2. completion, 3. mutuality of relation, 4. pleasure.



free and abundant cohabitation would be the only necessity. At least it would have been before birth control came in. In our age, sexual intercourse within the family actually produces far more births than it does outside. But conception is only part of the problem. For children remain helpless for some time. Unless they are cared for, they will die, and the human race will die with them. Furthermore, during their helpless years, they are a great trouble and expense. In a more developed agrarian society, such as ours was a century ago, or even an earlier pastoral culture, they quickly became economic assets worth saving. But both these cultures represent a relatively high level of development. Had it not been for other factors, it seems doubtful that Joe Caveman would have had insight enough to keep his children alive. If the race were to survive, Nature had to tie into sex a system of relationships whereby the physical parents will care for their offspring until they are old enough to care for and reproduce themselves. Such care is most successful if father and mother stay together and cooperate in providing for their children. This is where marriage and the family come in. Cooperation in the care of offspring is to be found even among birds and some higher mammals. Humans display it more completely. Let us see how it works out in our culture.

Pregnancy was once called "being in the family way." Whatever we may think of the prudish embarrassment it expresses, the phrase has much to commend it. When Bill Brown and Mary Jones became interested in each other sexually and otherwise, it was their cultural expectations which prompted them to marry. But this was quickly reënforced by other considerations. When for the first time Bill paid for Mary's clothes, he began to feel "in the family way." Many of their relationships, social and economic, strengthened this feeling in both of them. But it was their sex relationships which strengthened it most. These relationships were not merely biological. Night after night they lay not only in each other's arms but in each other's thoughts, dreams, hopes, aspirations, and feelings. They slept in the same bed emotionally as well as physically. Their sex relationships com-

bined with their other relationships to weld them together. When they decided to remove the "Keep Out" sign and Mary became pregnant, they were both psychologically already "in the family way." When the baby finally arrived, both of them could look at it and feel, "Look what we did." Sex was no longer merely fun. It was also fulfillment, both for them and for the deeper enduring purposes of nature. For it had made them into a family.

Families are products and results of sexual intercourse. They inevitably become part of the cultural pattern into which children grow up and learn to both expect and accept, channeled and supported by institutions and buttressed by sanctions. Such social patterns do not come into existence by Divine, or even Platonic, fiat. They arise out of needs rooted in nature and shaped by particular conditions. In a later chapter we shall consider the kind of sexual behavior which seems to develop the best kind of family life. At present we seek to point out that families are among the most important social results of sexual intercourse.

This concern for offspring so inextricably a part of sex, often extends to larger social interests in which the welfare of children are involved. A group of parents get together to stop the sale of marijuana cigarettes to school children. People with larger visions strive to prevent child labor or abolish war. Even the way in which the American people tax themselves to educate their children may be regarded as, in part, a social result of sexual intercourse.

#### PROSTITUTION AND RELATED PROBLEMS

We don't need to argue this point. Large numbers of men, especially the unmarried, demand sexual opportunities and feel that a simple money payment to a special class is the simplest and most available means of outlet. The Kinsey studies found that from 8.6 per cent to 38.7 per cent of the heterosexual intercourse of unmarried males is with prostitutes, the percentage rising with age. Among married men the proportion never rises above 2 per cent (pp. 281, 285).

Associated with prostitution are tremendous problems of health, political corruption, and other social considerations which we will discuss in a later chapter. We need here only indicate prostitution and its related problems as among the social results of sexual intercourse.

## THE SOCIAL CODE

In any society people are expected to do some things and not to do others. For example, if you drive a car you are expected to keep to the right, obey traffic signals, and indicate when you are going to turn or stop. If you go to a store and pick up food, or hail a taxi, you are expected to pay for it. If you enter a train, you are expected to have a ticket. In our culture, you are generally expected to revile communism and approve religion. The sum total of these socially approved expectations is the social code. If we have been brought up in any particular culture, we understand its codes so well and accept them so completely that usually we are hardly aware of their existence.

All societies develop social codes both about matters of importance and relatively unimportant ones. A rather elaborate sex code is inescapable. Some people are worried for fear that our sex codes will disappear. They might as well worry lest weather disappear. Our sex codes may be violated, weakened, or changed in basic ways. They cannot cease to exist. For even if they passed away, they would be creating others in their passing.

Sex codes are not simple and universally supported demands for behavior, but are complex and involved. Sometimes a code means what it says, and sometimes it does not. Our sex code forbids rape, incest, and the molestation of children and means it. Get caught at any of these and you will be in serious trouble. It also forbids all sex relationships outside of marriage, but only partly means it. Most who violate it at this point will not risk severe social penalties. There are often variations even in the code which is actually practiced (as opposed to the ideal code). Some parts of it apply

to everyone, both men and women of all social classes, and have general support. In other instances, it is generally supported, but applies differently to different persons and groups. The older code in this country applied to most women, but not to most men. Social class can make a great difference. In some cultures, the code allowed men of the noble classes freely to seduce girls of the peasant class, but not girls from their own class.

One reason we have trouble in understanding what the code of our culture actually is lies in its confusion with the code of our particular sub-group. Our society is not one but many cultures living side by side. We all tend to talk and dress alike, attend the same ball games and, in many superficial respects, behave alike. It is natural for each one to assume that everyone holds to the moral code of his group. Middle-class people, for example, are often both surprised and shocked to discover that moral practices which they take for granted, are not at all accepted by lower-class groups. Dr. Kinsey has done us a real service in indicating the variations in the sex standards of different social classes in America.

How do social codes come about? Partly as a result of the ideas, ideals, hopes, aspirations, and wishes of the culture. Perhaps a greater influence is the way in which people behave. While Mr. Smith, Mr. Jones, Mr. Park, and Mr. Jackson were attending the convention in Big Town, their sex behavior varied considerably. Mr. Smith was satisfied to consort with the ordinary prostitutes who hovered near the hotel district. Not so with Mr. Park. Although he had his wife with him, he left her to go to a night club. There he met some really top "numbers," one of whom allowed him to spend the night in her apartment for paying the bill and fifty dollars. He sneaked in at 4:00 a.m., hoping that his wife would not know. But she did. So did his friend, Mr. Jackson. They surmised what Mr. Park had planned and spent the evening together, the latter part of it in bed. Mr. Jones attended the convention and left the ladies strictly alone. After they returned home it became known that Mr. Smith had been care-



less and picked up a "dose." Mr. Jackson thought that the way he and Park's wife had put it over on the husband was too good to keep. The story was told around the club with much relish. Mr. Jones' standards were well-known and respected.

Each of these five persons affected the sex code of his culture to some degree. Mr. Smith helped create the impression that prostitution is all right if one is careful about it. The Park-Jackson episode strengthened the feeling that adultery can be an amusing indulgence. Mr. Jones strengthened the conviction that there are moral standards which some people actually observe. The influence of what these people did was greater because it became generally known. If no one had known except those actually involved, the sex code would still have been affected, although not so much.

Every time you indulge or refrain from certain types of sex behavior, you affect the social sex code to some degree, depending in part upon the extent to which it is known. The influence of the studies upon the sex code lies largely in the extent to which they have made sex practices known. The influence of behavior depends to a great extent also, upon your standing in the community. Billy Bond can be a well-known roué without seriously affecting the social code because he doesn't "rate." But if Dean Bahr is caught in an "affair," the effects upon the code may be considerable. The sexual escapades of a politician, for example, have much less effect upon the code than if the politician were the archbishop.

The code of society is affected, not only by our own sex conduct, but by our reactions to the sex conduct of others. Especially is this true of our influence upon children and youth. Tolerant amusement toward extra-marital sex conduct creates quite a different attitude than shock or vigorous condemnation. The arched eyebrows and the lips curled in cynicism both affect the sex code. Morality requires that we become aware of and accept responsibility for what we do in weakening, strengthening, or changing the sex code of society. This is what Kant had in mind when he said, "Act

in accordance with that maxim . . . which you can . . . will to be a universal law." In other words, "Would you think it good if everybody acted the way you do?"

Is it moral to behave in ways which strengthen or which tear down existing sex standards? If we could rightly assume that our sex standards are basically valid at all points, the answer would be simple. Conduct which strengthens or supports the code is moral. Conduct which violates or tears it down is immoral. Unfortunately, no such simple rule is valid. A few decades ago people could say, "If other people don't believe as we do about sex, they are wrong. If they don't behave as we believe they should they are immoral." This attitude has largely disappeared. A questioning of our own standards appears in several forms. Some people continue to believe that their particular standards are "right," but unattainable. If our sex standards are as widely and flagrantly violated as recent studies indicate, why keep on spending time and energy in this futile baying for a moon of chastity which you can't get? Yet you must have some moral standards regarding sex. Just what standards would prove to be really attainable?

Others will raise serious questions about the validity of the standards themselves. We can take any activity, however harmless or beneficial, and by an effective conditioning process make people feel that it is a "deadly sin." Excellent and tasty foods are rejected and harmless activities are made impossible because of senseless taboos. Might not the same thing prove true in sex? Here is the most intensely enjoyable physical experience known to man, and we seek to deny it completely to one enormous group (the unmarried) and sharply restrict it for everyone. Are not such restrictions like the taboos which primitive tribes and our own ancestors so needlessly imposed upon much worthwhile enjoyment? When we raise such questions we inevitably create uncertainties about standards which once we took for granted.

At a more advanced stage of questioning, we may ask whether our sex code is even moral. A critical examination will reveal the immorality of certain parts of almost any

social code. Some people feel that with suitable controls, sexual intercourse is not only harmless but positively necessary. To deny it to youth during the most passionate period of their lives is not only to deprive them of innocent pleasures. It is to create in them harmful repressions which damage their personalities. These contentions may or may not be valid. They have caused many people to have serious doubts as to what our sex code should be, and they have increased our uncertainties and confusions.<sup>2</sup> We can find a partial answer to these and other questions in a better understanding of the nature and function of social codes.

Social codes regarding any matter have some value, just because they help us to know what to expect. It really makes no difference whether we all drive on the right, as in America, or on the left, as in England, as long as we definitely decide one way and support our decision with our conduct. Difficulties arise when we are not sure what other people will do, or what we ought to expect of them.

Our present sex codes do fairly well, and much better than they once did, in enabling married people to know what to expect of each other sexually. A girl who marries today has a far better idea of the sexual approaches she may expect from her husband and the most satisfactory kind of response to them than did her grandmother. Our main uncertainties arise in the matter of other sexual approaches. Should unmarried people feel free to approach each other, but not a married person? Or should anybody feel free to approach anybody else, regardless of marriage? And what should be the attitude of those who are thus approached? We shall not here attempt to answer such questions. But we do need to feel a responsibility for building a sex code which will. A

---

<sup>2</sup> The April 1950 issue of the *Journal of Social Hygiene* was devoted to a discussion of this issue. Writers who believe that premarital chastity and postmarital fidelity should be retained as part of the social sex code include Bertocci, Blood and Johnson, Bowman, Bruno, L. Clark, Clendening, Dickerson, Duvall and Hill, Hart, Kirkendall, Mace, Newsholme, and Snow. Writers calling for a more permissive code on some points include Calverton, Farnham, Haire, Murdock (except for adultery), Bertrand and Dora Russell, and Schmalhausen.

sound sex code should be sufficiently definite to enable men and women to know what to expect, both from each other and from the general public. The other major function of a code is protection and guidance.

This protective function is the main difference between a social code and a moral code. A moral code is essentially a measuring devise. Like a thermometer or scales, it can make relatively sharp distinctions between various types of social conduct. The social code, however, is mainly a means of controlling conduct. The one seeks to evaluate. The other seeks to restrain. Let us see how this works out.

Adultery and fornication occur in a variety of situations that affect their moral quality. So is almost any kind of conduct, including killing people. It is worse to kill a worthy citizen than a vicious gunman or blackmailer. Other things being equal, it is worse to kill a young man than a very old man. Morally, there is often a real difference between one murder and another. Why, then, not make the whole thing a matter for private judgment (as it sometimes was in frontier times)? Because most people are not moral enough, wise enough, or mature enough to be entrusted with such rights. Therefore, we designate circumstances under which killing is permissible; in war, in self-defense, and by police officers when necessary for the enforcement of law. Apart from such identifiable situations, society says, "No killing at all." Likewise, theft, rape, arson, and similar conduct are taboo.

All such blanket social codes are very vulnerable. Important ethical distinctions are blurred or ignored. They inevitably are grossly unfair to some groups. They are not very successful. Taboos against theft, for example, are more flagrantly violated than those against sex. Yet such taboos are necessary for two important reasons:

1. A large proportion of people are morally ignorant, undisciplined, and irresponsible. A social code both helps them to know what is moral, and does exercise some control over their behavior.
2. The only workable system is to enforce the demands of the code upon everyone. On a public beach, some



swimmers can safely disregard the marked boundaries. But the life guard and the public cannot know just who these are. Therefore, the only safe procedure is to keep everyone within the marked limits. Otherwise, the whole system of protection may break down.

A social code, then, is somewhat like a sea wall. It is a relatively rigid demand, erected at some point of special stress for the purpose of protecting important social values. It does not in any way change the pressures of the waves and tides of human desire. It merely keeps them from washing out important human interests. This protection is far from complete. Since they are built at points of stress, much slops over and often does considerable damage. But the harm is far less than if the wall were not there.

A good sex code, like a good sea wall, should be built, not where it will be perfectly observed but where it is most needed. Secondly, it should be big and strong enough to do the job and should be kept in good repair. Only thus can it provide a maximum of protection for the masses of people.

Consider, for example, Anna May, a rather pretty and attractive woman of twenty. Anna is not very bright and likes men. If she followed only her own inclinations and judgments, she would be fairly promiscuous. But she accepts a social code which makes sex relationships outside of marriage a sin. She hasn't the slightest idea why except that she believes the Bible says so, which is good enough for her. Because she has remained a virgin she has avoided venereal disease and several illegitimate children for which she would be incapable of full responsibility. Because she is so free and has a good reputation, she is now engaged to a nice young fellow who will give her a good home, and with whose help she will be able to take care of her children.

Or take the case of James Farrell's fiction character Ellen Rogers. Ellen is a bright girl. If she had observed the code calling for premarital chastity, she would never have become too seriously involved with the deadbeat with a smooth line and no scruples. But being "emancipated" she gives herself sexually to him and becomes not only pregnant but terribly

"in love" with him. Since the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood are the last things he wants, he gives her the air. What she can't take is, not the disgrace, but a recognition of what a sap she has been. Quite in line with her character, she drowns herself. Say what you wish, but if the code demanding a restriction of sexual intercourse to marriage were commonly observed, a tremendous amount of difficulty and suffering would be averted.

The sex code has also its positive side. When Elsie's grandmother married, she had little intellectual and no emotional preparation for the establishment of the sexual relationship. She did not resist her husband's first advances, but she felt guilty, ashamed, and violated. Some years later she felt ashamed again because she had begun to enjoy them. Elsie grew up with a different code. When she married she gladly offered herself to her husband. She felt a certain amount of physical discomfort for the first few weeks but accepted it with joy and gladness as an expression of devotion for the man she loved. Because of her attitudes and her husband's understanding, she reached a stage fairly quickly where she could enjoy the relationship and give herself to it with abandon. The social code thus made her sex relations experiences which bound her closer to her husband, rather than shameful experiences which made it more difficult for her to accept him. Morally, one of the most significant results of sexual behavior is the social code which we help to build with it.

### *Social Results for the Individual*

The composer Wagner once eloped with the wife of another man. Far from feeling guilty, he said that the husband should be flattered that the Great Wagner chose his wife, of all the others, for his sexual favors. If you are a great musician, poet, movie star, author, or scientist, you may be able to act as you wish regarding sex, without serious loss of money, friends, or public adulation. But if you are not outstanding, you will have to conform to whatever standards

your group regards as essential. If you don't, you may find yourself without job, money, or friends.

The standards of sex conduct demanded will depend largely upon the group to which you belong and the nature of the relationship. A business man may not care particularly how his crack engineer behaves toward women, at least until he feels it is affecting the work. The very same man, as a member of the board of directors of a college or of a church, may vote without hesitation to dismiss a college faculty member or his minister who has been guilty of sexual "misconduct." People will accept conduct in their mayor which they would not for a moment tolerate in their bishop. The type of intercourse allowable also varies. Protestant clergy are expected to marry and have sex relationships with their wives, but other sexual relationships are rarely tolerated. As we have seen, the standards enforced upon women have been, and are, more strict than those demanded of men.

In other instances, unconventional sexual experience may be harmful, but not fatal. In the presidential campaign of 1884, Cleveland's political opponents made much of the fact that he had once had an illegitimate child. This scandal undoubtedly hurt him, but was not enough to prevent his election then, and eight years later. The effects of sexual intercourse upon the reputation and, hence, the social, political, vocational, or other opportunities of the individual, depend upon the demands of the group to which he is related, the nature of that relationship, and the presence or absence of other favorable or unfavorable factors.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Quite apart from opportunities for earning a living, sexual intercourse costs money. Within marriage it involves all the expenses which go with maintaining a family. Outside of marriage also it involves inevitable expenses.<sup>3</sup> In prostitution

---

<sup>3</sup> We are not including in our discussion here the economic costs of venereal diseases, political corruption, and similar items of expense to the individual or to society.

the payment is simple, direct, and clearly understood. The "affair" may cost far more in flowers, gifts, and entertainment expenses. In some instances these costs are but a thinly disguised form of payment. The girl submits to sexual intercourse with a man for whom personally she does not care in order to get economic advantages. In other cases the love felt is real and genuine. In still other situations the motives are mixed. But in any case, considerable economic expense is involved. Occasionally the woman may carry her full share or more. Usually the costs are carried by the man.

"If women had the sense of intelligent goats, they would make every effort to drill monogamy into their children, and would try to run every woman who gave sex favors without first demanding a wedding ring right off the map." The marriage counselor who made this statement was not advocating a restoration of the older sex standards.

He had no particular feelings against sexual intercourse outside of marriage. He merely felt that for their own economic protection married women should do what John Lewis' coal miners have done; establish a tight monopoly over sexual favors and vigorously oppose any who might try to "scab." The basis for such a position is understandable. In a recent counseling case the husband had an income of about \$8000 a year, but of this sum the wife had been able to secure only \$2400 for herself, her two children, and food for the entire family. She had bought no new clothes for herself and had been able to get along only by the most rigorous economy. About \$4000 had gone for "other women." While this case is more extreme than many, it does illustrate the kind of situation which is inevitable. Not only a loss of money, but of love, security, and other values inevitably result when a married man or woman has sex relationships outside of marriage.

These economic costs of sexual intercourse are relatively easy to perceive and to understand. Less obvious, but often far more important, are the effects on personality and character. First of all, there are the possible effects of violating any taboo which the individual has come to accept in his



own conscience. If the individual believes that any particular form of conduct is wrong—eating meat on Friday, going to a show on Sunday, wearing an ordinary dress to a formal dance—a violation of that taboo may cause serious personal distress and result in a weakening of character. Others not so taught may do the same thing without such results. Thus with one person, one sexual experience may cause a serious sense of shame, guilt, and a weakening of character. Another person may freely indulge in numerous sex relationships without experiencing any qualms of conscience or undermining of character. There may be many other reasons why such conduct is wrong, but it will not have this particular effect upon him.

Recognizing that sexual intercourse or any other type of conduct does not necessarily undermine the character of this particular individual does not solve the moral problem. You can shoot a man through his artificial leg without causing him physical suffering. But this proves only that you cannot hurt what isn't there, not that the situation is a matter of moral indifference. The basic question is, "If a person has the kind of conscience and character he 'ought' to have, what then would be the effects of sexual intercourse upon him?" The word "ought" is a slippery concept. People at once tend to assume that everyone "ought" to have what their particular code demands. We use the term here in its ethical sense. By morality we mean that a man "ought" to be concerned about the effects of what he does on other people. If a person has a valid and sound moral code, sexual intercourse which results in harm to others will violate his conscience and undermine his character, and these effects upon himself are among those which he should consider. For those who lack a moral attitude toward life and persons, the absence of such results indicates a moral deficiency.



In these last three chapters we have indicated the kinds of results, physical, psychological, and social, which come from sexual intercourse. We have maintained that simply to

say that this conduct is right and that is wrong is to have an instrument of moral measurement too crude to give valid results. The morality of any kind of behavior depends upon the totality of its effects upon people. These, in turn, depend upon the nature of the individual and of the total situation.

In reviewing something which has already happened it is relatively easy to say what ought or ought not to have been done. Moral decisions, however, must be made in advance. We must determine as well as we can the goodness or badness, not of what *has* happened, but of *what is likely* to happen. Of this we can never be sure. Some apparently harmless activity, like taking a walk or going to a movie, may prove fatal. On the other hand, we may come through some extremely dangerous enterprise, such as a battle, unscathed.

The impossibility of knowing for certain what is going to happen does not, however, leave us morally helpless. By a study of what usually has happened we can normally make a fairly accurate prediction. It is true that some people have fallen four stories or gone over Niagara in a barrel without serious harm, while others have been killed as a result of opening a tin can or walking across a floor. But no one needs seriously question the relative probabilities in the outcomes. So it is with sexual intercourse. We can never know in advance for certain what its results will be in any given situation. We do have enough knowledge to be able to predict, with some degree of accuracy, the probable results under this or that situation. To consider the kinds of situations under which sexual intercourse is likely to have good and/or bad effects is the task of the next four chapters which constitute Section III.

## SECTION 3

---

### Sex Morality in Specific Situations





## 7.

# The Morality of Sexual Intercourse Within Marriage

---

THE MINISTER had just pronounced them man and wife and the newly-made husband was enthusiastically kissing his bride. Suddenly the awesome silence of the well-filled church was invaded by a squeaky voice which piped up, "Mother, is he sprinkling the pollen on her now?"

The child who thus raised the question and the interest of the audience was merely expressing in a somewhat crude and unconventional way the social expectations of the group. When people marry they have both the social approval and expectation to "sprinkle pollen." The marriage ceremony itself will change some of the outcomes of this "pollen sprinkling" in important respects. Some cynics have been loud in their contempt for the idea that saying some words over a couple can make any significant difference in the morality of their sex relationships. Yet simpler things than that have had far greater significance. Writing a signature at the bottom of a page may obligate a person for money payments which will profoundly alter the entire course of his life. A signature can mean a sentence of death, or a reprieve from death. Or it can plunge a world into bloody war. The words read from the book, plus the signatures on the marriage license and certificate usually make the following changes in the effects of sex relations.

1. It enables them to cohabit without the social penalties, such as loss of reputation and social acceptance, which would in some instances result.
2. In most instances, it reduces the guilt feelings of the participants. It is true that some married people feel more guilt about their sex relationships than do many unmarried. But on the whole the guilt felt by the married in our culture is undoubtedly very much less.
3. It gives to both a far greater security. Husbands and wives often desert each other without warning. But the likelihood of such desertion by the sexual partner is far less if the couple have "had some words said over them out of a book."

On the other hand, these "words out of a book" do not, as our ancestors tended to assume, solve all moral problems related to sexual intercourse. Even if there is no infidelity, desertion, or cruelty, the effects of sexual intercourse within marriage can vary considerably, depending upon the individuals and the situation. For one married couple, sexual intercourse may be only an enjoyable experience. For another couple, the physical condition of the wife may make it, and its resulting pregnancy, a sentence of death. Sex relationships within marriage can channel and feed love. They can also express contempt and feed hatreds. Marriage is not one situation, but many. How do the participants feel toward each other? What is the state of their health, finances, maturity, and stage of development? These suggest some of the variables which can make a big difference in what sexual intercourse within marriage does to the people. Each marriage and, sometimes, each separate act of intercourse may present different moral issues. We cannot profitably attempt to deal with all or any large proportion of these. We can, however, block out some of the main types of situations which both classify and illustrate the different kinds of things which sexual intercourse within marriage does to and for people. Let us now consider the attitudes and feelings of the participants as one important influence.

## ATTITUDES OF PARTICIPANTS

### 1. *The Lovingly Satisfied*

Let us first look in on Bill and Alice Mack. They have been married ten years and now have three children. They feel for each other a love which has grown through the years. Quite frequently the happy and rich experiences which they have had together, the respect and love which they feel toward each other, and their dreams and hopes mingle with biological factors to focus on sex desire. Perhaps it is Bill who takes the initiative. Alice knows by the way he kisses her while she is fixing supper that something happy is on the schedule. Hand squeezing and endearments confirm her judgment. They play with the children and read to them before putting them to bed, perhaps a little earlier than usual, and with a bit more tenderness. Alice has prepared herself well in advance, so that when Bill begins to stroke her arm and make other lover approaches there need be no interruption. In the physical consummation of the act she gives herself so completely that she seems almost to melt and fuse with him. In the morning they both feel happy and satisfied. She wants to follow him around the house like a puppy and can hardly let him get off to work. Their sex relationships have had definite and identifiable results which have grown out of their basic attitudes and feelings toward each other. Bill and Alice demonstrate Augustine's affirmation that "Humble wedlock is better than proud virginity."

### 2. *The Indifferent*

How different is the situation in the Florey home. Elsie Florey is tall, willowy, and beautifully proportioned. She is an ideal model for lovely clothes, is always impeccably groomed, and moves with grace like an exquisite statue. She is well-educated, knows how to adjust her conversations to the interests of her guests, and is altogether a charming hostess. She fits in perfectly with the costly rugs and exquisite drapes and appointments of the Florey home. That

is why she was chosen as Mrs. Florey, Jr. The Floreys always have the best of everything.

Elsie, on her part, could have had any one of a number of eager swains. She does not especially care for or dislike her husband, and they rarely quarrel. She wanted, above anything else, to live in comfortable, gracious surroundings without financial worries. Jim Florey could give her what she wanted. So she accepted him.

Jim and Elsie have sex relationships. Elsie has never enjoyed them and fails to see why they are so much fun for men. But she understands that they are part of her wifely duty. She accepts them, just as she accepts responsibility for conversing charmingly with the customer from out of town to whom Jim wishes to sell a big order. As soon as she discovered that the relationships were more enjoyable to Jim if she "responded," she adjusted to that, too, and now moves her body rhythmically with his. The only thing she asks is that he tell her in advance "when he wants it," so that she can prepare herself, which includes the wearing of an old nightgown. They have been married six years and now have two children. These, too, Elsie accepted with understanding that there must be heirs for the Florey fortunes. She loves them in the sense that she would grieve if any harm came to them. But she has always turned their care over to servants and plans to send them away to school just as soon as they are old enough.

### 3. *The Antagonistic*

The Martins present a still different situation. Soon after their honeymoon, Jane developed what has become a growing dislike for Vic. With time this has increased in intensity. Occasionally it bursts out in violent quarrels. Most of the time it merely simmers in chronic resentments, bickering, fault finding, and complaining. Jane and Vic will soon be divorced.

What of their sex relationships? Needless to say, they are rare. After the first few months of married life, Jane began to "stall." She complained of headaches, fatigue, and other



vague illnesses. She insisted upon twin beds. Her difficulty was the greater because she found her sex relationships to be highly enjoyable. In pushing Vic off to spite him, she was punishing herself as well as him. The sex relationships which Vic and Jane both do and do not have are having significant effects upon their personalities as well as their other relationships.

We have so far said that the effects and, therefore, the morality of sex relationships are affected in some respects by the very fact of marriage and in other respects by the attitudes which the couple have toward each other. There are still other respects in which being married or not married, or feeling one way or the other, will affect the results of the intercourse only slightly, if at all. Which is which, and how much, and how can we tell? In some instances, the results and differences are so obvious that we need only point them out. In other cases, there is some research data available upon which we can base our judgments. In other cases, we shall just have to make the best guesses we can. So let us now begin to look the problem over on the basis of the physical, psychological, and social results of sexual intercourse and see what differences marriage and attitudes within marriage are likely to make.

#### PHYSICAL RELEASE FOR MEN

As we have seen, it is rarely possible for men to have sexual intercourse without the release of orgasm. This result will occur whether the man is or is not married to his sex partner and whether he loves, hates, or feels indifferent toward her. Any differences at this point will be so slight that they may safely be ignored. It sometimes does happen, though, that physically potent men fail to have intercourse, not only with their brides, but with wives to whom they have been married for some years.<sup>1</sup> In many of these cases, however, the husband does secure physical release with other women.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Frederic Loomis, *Consultation Room*, pp. 149-150.

## PHYSICAL RELEASE FOR WOMEN

For most women, orgasm is not only uncertain, but may prove difficult. Margaret Mead says that many women ought not to expect it. "There seems no reason to believe that climactic responses to simple copulation are 'natural' to all women, or even to any large proportion of women" (p. 294). The physical release of any woman in sexual intercourse will depend mainly upon three factors; the intensity of her own sexual drives, the willingness and ability of her sex partner to stimulate and manipulate, and the presence and absence of emotional blockages.

The first of these will not be significantly affected, either by marriage or by love. Some few women are, biologically, unusually passionate. They are easily aroused and can quickly experience orgasm by sexual contact with any man, regardless of marriage or love. A woman with such a nature is likely to desire frequent sexual intercourse and to experience complete physical release in it, even with a husband whom she detests. The second need not be affected by marriage or love. The male partner often can, if he wants to, arouse his partner by preliminaries or continual manual manipulation after his own orgasm until she experiences a physical climax. Love may profoundly affect his concern for her satisfaction. If he feels indifferent toward her he is less likely to care whether she finds release or not. If he feels hostile toward her, he may prefer to leave her unsatisfied.

It is at the point of psychological attitudes that marriage and love will make the greatest difference. Married women, even those who love their husbands, may be held back by all kinds of emotional blockages. They may be afraid of sex or regard it as nasty. They may have a great fear of pregnancy. But they will have many psychological advantages over the unmarried. The married women will not have any fear of being found out, with all that this can mean for reputation and social acceptance. She may feel guilt but it will often be much less than she would feel if she were unmarried. Any fear of pregnancy will be reduced because she knows that

in this case she will be honored, rather than condemned, and that she will have a husband who will stand back of her and support her and the child.

Love will give her even greater advantages. As Reik suggests, "A woman in love and sure of being loved by a man will give herself to him with her whole being" (p. 200). Obviously, the chances of her finding the satisfactions of physical release will under these conditions be greatly improved. On the other hand, if she detests her husband, the chances of physical release are diminished. So far as psychological attitudes are concerned, then, sexual intercourse within marriage and between couples who love each other is much more likely to provide the conditions favorable to physical release. To this extent, sexual intercourse within marriage will have more desirable effects and be, therefore, on a higher moral level than sexual intercourse outside of marriage. Likewise, sexual intercourse between married couples who love each other is morally superior to that between married couples who are indifferent or resent each other.

## PLEASURE

As a mere physical act, sexual intercourse usually results in a high degree of pleasure to the man, and often to the woman, whether it occurs within or outside of marriage. But the pleasures of sex involve far more than a climactic physical contact. To be most enjoyable they require privacy, freedom from the fear of interruption, and pleasant and comfortable surroundings. In such matters, marriage offers for most people, decided advantages. Movies and novels often portray "affairs" in some swanky apartment where all the physical aspects are ideal. For most of the unmarried, the conditions are quite different. The best they can expect is a tourist camp or a dirty, disreputable hotel. Extra-marital relations are often hurried affairs conducted in the back seat of a car, or a vacant lot, or even in some dark hallway. Many married couples conduct their sex relationships under con-

ditions which are far from ideal. But compared to those available for most unmarried, they are decidedly superior, especially regarding such matters as leisured approach and post-intercourse relaxation. Some people have urged that unmarried couples be provided with opportunities to enjoy leisurely and private sex relations. If this were done, some of the pleasure advantages of marriage would tend to disappear. But at present, marriage usually offers a far superior situation in which to enjoy the pleasures of sex.

Married couples have a second advantage for sexual pleasure in the greater possibilities for the development of skills. First attempts at sexual intercourse are likely to be clumsy and unsatisfactory. The man may experience orgasm before effective contact has been established. The woman may at first experience a considerable amount of discomfort and pain, and be aroused without being satisfied. The Bible speaks of a man "knowing" his wife, meaning thereby, sexual intercourse. Actually, it takes both time and practice to get to "know" another sexually; to know what will repel or cause to respond; to overcome embarrassments and emotional blockages. The Landis and other studies show that it may take years to establish the relationship on a satisfactory basis. Marriage gives a better opportunity to develop the skills and experience necessary to make sex more pleasurable. Therefore, it is to this extent more moral.

How will the attitudes of the couple toward each other affect this pleasure? On this point the situation is not clear. We know that with couples who sincerely love each other, one or the other (usually the wife) may find no satisfaction in the sex experience and may even find it distressing. On the other hand, a couple who detest each other and are headed toward divorce may find the sexual part of their relationship highly enjoyable. In sexual pleasure, the attitudes of the couple toward each other are only part of a larger situation. In some instances, emotional blockages and fears are strong enough to overcome affection. In other cases, the sex desires are strong enough to overcome aversion to the sexual partner. But even a tide which is overcome, still pulls against the



ship. Love in a marriage means that more of the components of a total situation pull together to make the relationship more enjoyable. To this extent, the relationships between loving couples are more moral than those between couples who are indifferent or antagonistic.

#### VENEREAL DISEASE

The significance of marriage for venereal infection will depend upon whether we take the "individual" point of view or what we may call "the insurance company" point of view. If two individuals, Bill and Jane, cohabit, their danger of infection depends entirely upon whether the other has a disease to transmit. If both are free from disease, neither will contract it from the other, whether they are married or single, or whether they love, hate, or feel indifferent toward each other. The "insurance company" point of view considers, not this or that individual case, but what is likely to happen as a statistical average, among large numbers of people. From the standpoint of the total social group, marriage offers a very considerable protection from venereal infection, and a loving marriage offers still more. Stated in the form of propositions, it works out somewhat as follows:

1. Venereal infection depends largely upon the number and diversity of contacts.
2. Marriage reduces the number and diversity of contacts.
3. Therefore, marriage reduces venereal infections.

The first point is so well established as to need no further elaboration. The mere number of contacts by itself is not, of course, the only factor in risk. A man who consorted with twenty girls who took careful precautions might run less risk than one who consorted with five women who were careless. But, mathematically, there is a high correlation between the sheer number of contacts and the amount of infection.

Marriage reduces the number and diversity of contacts. Although about half of all married men sometime commit adultery, Dr. Kinsey's study estimates that 93.4 per cent of

the heterosexual intercourse of married white males is with their own wives.<sup>2</sup> Since there is no such restriction in the sex relationships of the unmarried, the protection at this point is very considerable. The extent of protection will depend upon the extent of monogamy. For those couples already free from disease who restrict their relationships entirely to each other, the protection is practically complete. Those who limit their adultery to an occasional affair still enjoy a considerable security. For those who make a practice of cohabiting outside, the protection of their marriage is very limited. Restricting relations to a limited group of friends offers less security than we might suppose. The Wells, the Roberts, and the Woods thought that they were safe in freely consorting with each other across matrimonial lines. But the Wells were on similar terms with another group of friends. Some of these friends consorted with still other friends and became infected. Before long all three families had contracted syphilis. Marriage does not prevent venereal infections entirely, but to the extent to which it is monogamous, it does reduce them considerably.

From an "insurance company" point of view, attitudes also affect venereal infection. It will not make the slightest difference whether any particular couple love, hate or, feel indifferent toward each other, *provided they remain monogamous*. But their attitudes may make a considerable difference with their outside behavior. If Jim's wife detests him and refuses him sexual privileges, Jim is much more likely to seek consolation outside than if he and his wife are so in love with each other as to keep him sexually "drained." Loving monogamous relations offer a maximum of protection from venereal infection and are, therefore, so far as this one point is concerned, morally superior to any other situation. As Newsholme says, "Complete success in eliminating venereal diseases . . . is to be achieved only by moral means" (p. 532).

---

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Kinsey and his colleagues for sending me the above estimate in response to a personal request.

## PREGNANCY

Although pregnancy will be considered more fully in a later chapter, some consideration should be given here to the morality of pregnancy within marriage. Mary Jane and her boy friend were worried. They had been having sex relationships and Mary's menstrual period was late, and they were dismayed for fear that it might mean pregnancy. Anna May, an older sister, and her husband were also worried. They had been married five years, and so far, no pregnancy had resulted despite their most earnest wishes. What a contrast is here; one couple terrified for fear of pregnancy; another heartbroken because there is not pregnancy! Our Mary Janes are not different in their personal feelings and attitudes from our Anna Mays. If Mary had a husband and Anna did not, their attitudes might well be reversed. Statistically speaking, the main difference lies in the situation of marriage. A few married couples do try to avoid having any children at all, but within marriage, deliberately having some children is usual. Fertility clinics swarm with married couples who are unable to have children whom they strongly desire, and there are never enough babies for adoption. Outside of marriage the reverse is true. The almost universal policy of unmarried couples is to do their best to avoid having any children at all. Hence it follows that well over 90 per cent of all pregnancies occur within marriage. The implications of this situation for society are of great moral significance. Only within marriage are sex relationships sufficiently productive to maintain the race.

Two other problems related to pregnancy are the hereditary endowment of the child and the risk to the mother. For these, marriage and love are of little importance. The heredity of any child will depend upon the nature of the germ cells which united to produce him. The marriage of his parents or whether they love or hate each other will make not the slightest difference. A mother's survival of a pregnancy may in some slight degree depend upon the situation and her attitude toward her partner. If she is either unmarried or

disliked by her husband, she may get less adequate medical care. Or, if the scales are delicately balanced, her feelings may make the difference between life and death. Otherwise, marriage and the attitudes of the couple will have little significant effect. Happily married mothers devoted to both husband and children may die helplessly in childbirth. Unmarried mothers who have hated both father and child have survived robustly. The important moral advantage of marriage and love lies in the care given to the offspring after it is born.

#### PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE OF OFFSPRING

If you could choose the circumstances and situation of your own birth, what would they be like? What provisions would you make for your physical care? In what kind of emotional climate would you wish to be reared? What difference would it make to you whether your parents were married or not? How would the way they felt about each other affect you? Let us look at some of these questions in more detail.

The physical care which you would get after birth would depend, first, upon how much money your parents had, next, their intelligence, and, finally, their willingness to provide for you. Unless your parents inherited considerable wealth, the amount of money they had would depend mainly upon the earning power of your father. If your parents were not married, you would probably strike a serious snag right there. To begin with, your father would probably be very young. If he were as old as most married fathers, he would probably be able to earn as much. But you certainly would be safer economically if your parents were married. Gillette and Reinhart state that 46 per cent of the cases of illegitimate babies need state aid the first year, as against 9 per cent of cases where the babies are legitimate (p. 622).

If your parents were married, their feelings for each other might affect your father's earning power either way. If your mother picked at him all the time, he might be less able to



do his work. On the other hand, it might make him so mad that he would throw himself all the harder into his work and earn even more than he would if he stayed home longer and made love to her.

Your care would depend on the intelligence of your parents, as well as money. If your parents were unmarried the chances are very much greater that your mother would be too young to take care of you properly. As an illegitimate you have 200 times as many chances as the legitimate of getting a mother who is under fourteen at the time of your birth. Your father might be considerably older, but he might be little more than a boy himself. If they were married, they might love each other and you very dearly but do you serious harm with a wrong diet and improper care because they did not know any better. Or, they might hate each other and still give you the very best of food and physical care. That is, they might if they wanted to.

In this matter, your chances would be far better if your parents were married. With few exceptions, the father of a child of married parents is known. Unless he runs away or is a complete bum, he usually accepts responsibility for the economic support and care of his children. For children born out of wedlock, the situation is usually far less favorable. With unmarried parents, people might not even know who your father was. Even your mother might not be sure, or if she did know she might not tell. The chances are that your father would do his best to avoid any responsibility for your support, either financially or in helping your mother with the home and its burdens. The death rate for illegitimate babies is three times that of legitimate babies the first year, and eight times during the first two months. From the standpoint of the care of children, the moral superiority of sex relationships within marriage is unquestionable and outstanding.

If your parents were married, they might take excellent care of you, regardless of how they felt toward each other. This concern might come from a strong feeling of moral obligation. It might come from social pressure. What will the

neighbors think if we don't care for our children properly? Or they might care for you well for the same reason that they keep their houses well-painted and their cars in good condition—because they take a personal pride in doing things well. Finally, they might care for you because they love you, regardless of how they feel toward each other. Whatever the reason may be, the sexual intercourse of parents who want to provide as well as possible for their children is to this extent, moral, regardless of how they may feel toward each other. Other considerations, however, give a decided moral advantage to parents who love each other.

To begin with, a loving home is safer for a child. Children cost heavily, not only in money, but in work, trouble, and restrictions. Pride, moral obligation, or social pressures may not be enough to secure even adequate physical care. Love is by far the best guarantee for this. For good care requires far more than plenty of good food, clothing, and other physical necessities. It involves care by persons. A few wealthy homes may be able to hire plenty of servants. But not all of these homes will have servants who really love the children and care for them as if they were their own. In most homes the physical care must be given by the parents themselves. Can a mother who feels indifferent toward her husband give her baby good physical care? Perhaps so, at least in a limited sense, especially if she feels secure. What about parents who detest each other? They certainly can see that their children are well-fed, comfortable, and physically safe if they want to. But they are less likely to do so. People who are beset by worries, fears, and hatreds find it hard to do their best, however much they may want to. The mother who resents her husband may actually "take it out" on her children, either by depriving them physically or by over-indulging and over-protecting them as compensation. Neither is good even for physical welfare. Furthermore, physical care is more than physical. As the Ribble study showed, children who are loved digest their food better, are healthier, and more resistant to disease than children who have the best of physical care without love. Unloving parents can *offer* good physical

care, but only loving parents can make it possible for their children to *receive* the best care.

In the meeting of the psycho-emotional needs of their children, the superiority of loving parents is unmistakable and outstanding. We now have an extensive and growing body of knowledge which comes in part out of the experiences of pediatricians and psychiatrists and, in part, out of technical studies. All this adds up to one thing—the vital importance of love in the home.<sup>3</sup> As Dr. Leo Kanner says (pp. 83, 84), “parental affection is as much a prerequisite of wholesome development as is the need for food and shelter.”

Undoubtedly some unmarried mothers love their children far more than do some wives. But the chances of this are remote. A large proportion of unmarried mothers are themselves too young and immature to be capable of giving to their babies the atmosphere of affection which they need. They must care for their babies without the security and help which only a recognized father who accepts his responsibilities can provide. As to the unmarried father, his usual response is that of resentment and a desire to escape responsibility.<sup>4</sup> With rare exception, unmarried parents have neither the personal capacity nor a situation in which they can provide for the psycho-emotional needs of their children.

Among married couples the moral superiority of parents who love each other is likewise unchallenged. Indifferent or antagonistic couples sometimes *can* provide well physically for their children. Even those who hate each other may still love their children. In so far as this love is genuine, rather than a simulated compensation for the frustrations of the parents, it is all to the good. But it is not enough. Couples who do not love each other cannot provide as well emotionally or spiritually for their children as parents who do. Chil-

---

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, E. R. Geleerd, “Observations on Temper Tantrums in Children.” F. Clothier, “The Treatment of the Rejected Child.” N. W. Ackerman, “Psychotherapy and ‘Giving Love’.”

<sup>4</sup> See Maud Morlock, *The Fathers of Children Born Out of Wedlock*. Mimeographed report of the Children’s Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. March 1, 1939.

dren need an atmosphere of love in order to develop their best.

The basic feeling of parents toward each other will make a distinct difference in the morality of any sex relationships which may result in children. Strong antagonisms mean a psycho-emotional atmosphere likely to prove damaging to the personalities of possible offspring. Indifference means that love needs can only partly be met. The sex relationships of parents who can provide resulting children with a loving home are on a distinctly higher level than those of parents who cannot so provide.

### THE CHANNELING OF FEELINGS

As we saw in Chapter 5, sexual intercourse whether within or outside of marriage frequently channels a feeling which is already present. If a couple love each other, this feeling will be channeled through their sex relations. On the other hand, hatreds or resentments, either toward the other person or toward the entire sex, can also be so channeled. So can personality disturbances or personal insecurities. What is channeled depends primarily, not upon the relations themselves, but upon what is there to begin with.

In some instances, what is channeled by sex will be little affected by the presence or absence of marriage or the feelings which the couple have for each other. A man who has a compulsive feeling of inferiority may channel this through his sex experiences whether these are with his wife, or "friends." Relations with prostitutes are not likely to be satisfactory at this point, since the man must feel that he has achieved a victory, not merely purchased a service. On the other hand, prostitution may prove to be a quite satisfactory means for the expression of resentments toward the entire sex.

What effects will such channeling have upon the feelings themselves? If love is expressed through sex, is it thereby increased? If a couple channel their resentments into their sex conduct, will they come to hate each other the more? To



such questions there are no ready answers applicable to all situations. For in any given situation, sex is only a part and often not the most important part of a total picture. The significance of sex depends upon how it fits in and combines with the other components. Sex relationships which channel love may thereby strengthen love. Under certain circumstances they can also diminish it or even turn it to hatred. Under other circumstances they can help change indifference or even hatred to growing affection. A consideration of such effects brings us at once into a further discussion of a point previously considered in part in an earlier chapter, involvement.

#### INVOLVEMENTS AND LOVE NURTURE

We have already pointed out that women frequently become involved with the men with whom they have sex relationships. Such involvement may have several reasons. If the sex experiences are pleasurable a woman will naturally want to hold on to her man in order that such delights may continue to be available for her. Since it seems usually easier for a man to find a satisfactory sex partner, his need to hold on to any particular one is less intense. More important, many girls have come to focus certain of their hopes around stable marriage. That is the way it was with Elsie Hope. When she first allowed Mike Parr to spend the night with her in her apartment she had not thought of anything beyond a mutual good time. But Elsie had grown up in an American culture. Subconsciously she inevitably associated sex with marriage.

As Mike came back again and again these past learnings began to take shape. She began to love Mike, and as she lay in his arms she began to think: "What if he gets tired of me and leaves me? Whatever would I do? If only we were married, then I could be more sure that he would not just walk out of that door and never come back. And I am getting just a little tired of not being able to tell everybody how it is with us. I wish I could take him home to my parents and

when it is time just take him to bed with me. I want to know that if we should have a baby, the baby will have a father who will support and take care of us. Above all, I want assurance that Mike cares for *me*. There are any number of men who would be glad to use my body as a kind of free playground, a chance to have fun. I wonder if that is all that Mike cares about? Other girls can get *husbands*. Does our relationship mean that I can't?"

And so Elsie soon began to dream of wedding bells and a big church ceremony with hundreds present to give witness and support to her triumph. She visualized Mike and herself going to church together and being greeted by everyone as belonging together. When Mike played with her breasts she seemed to feel a baby there, pulling away, cooing, and gurgling. With Elsie, as with so many girls, her sexual intercourse seemed to gather up all these hopes and feelings into one composite desire and to focus them upon the sex partner.

Sex relationships outside of marriage usually turn out to be a dead-end street. Often the man is only enjoying a pleasurable physical release with a somewhat enjoyable companion. What happens when he will not, or because of marriage to another, cannot consummate the hopes and aspirations of his sex partner? Some girls can turn to another man, or even another interest, with a minimum of emotional disturbance and harm. Others will "eat their hearts out" and never really recover. In extreme cases the frustrated love feelings go into reverse, and the girl comes to hate the man who has stimulated feelings in her which he never satisfies. Such hatred may lead to murder and often has.

Marriage presents quite a different kind of situation. The husband and wife who have been cherishing certain hopes, aspirations, and dreams since childhood now have some place to put them. Therefore, the love which they channel through their sex relations is also frequently fed and increased. This possibility establishes what is one of the most important moral advantages of sex relationships within marriage.

Marriage does not guarantee any such happy outcome,

however. It only makes it more possible. What if the couple married each other for social, economic, or similar reasons, or because of family pressures, and feel indifferent toward each other? Can their sex relations warm up a cold marriage? This possibility will depend upon three major factors; the pleasures of the sex experience itself, the capacity of the couple to love, and the nature and strength of other influences.

For most young, potent men, sex relationships involve an experience which is highly pleasurable from the start. Such is by no means always, or even usually, the case with their wives. Most women have no such intensity of sexual drive to begin with. Previous training may make the initial relationship embarrassing or distasteful. The rupture of the hymen, or lack of skill on the part of the husband, may make it physically painful. Therefore, the first sexual contacts may be distressing, rather than pleasurable, and if the husband becomes aware of this reaction, his own pleasure may be considerably diminished. But if in time the adjustment is made so that the relationship becomes increasingly pleasurable to both parties, the effects of the sex conduct may become increasingly beneficial. Anyone who brings us pleasure, or with whom we have pleasurable experiences, we tend to love. Sex experiences which are sufficiently pleasurable may result in love feelings toward the companion of such satisfaction.

By far the most crucial factor is the capacity to love. Some people, because of unusually favorable childhood experiences, grow up with the capacity to respond lovingly and warmly. If two such people marry each other they will soon come to love each other deeply, provided there are no other conflicting elements to wreck the relationship, even though they hardly knew each other at the time of marriage.

If a team of horses hitched to each other start going in opposite directions, it soon becomes a strain on both of them. So it is with a married couple. They can and will overcome slight differences. But unless basically they both want the same things and are both "going my way," their sex relation-

ships may neither channel their love nor cement their marriage. The most important consideration is not how strongly they feel about these differences, but how deeply rooted they are in the personalities of the situation.

When Myra Flack was a senior in college, she fell in love with Don Parks, a liberal young instructor. Myra came from a wealthy and somewhat snobbish family and just took it for granted that Don would feel the same about life and people as she did. Soon after their marriage she became terribly shocked by his behavior. Some of his friends just didn't seem to act and live like civilized people; they were labor leaders and similar dangerous radicals. On the other hand, Don regarded some of her friends, people from the very best families, with frank contempt and seemed to take delight in shocking them. He wouldn't join the right clubs, even though her father offered to pay all expenses. He advocated civil rights for oppressed minority groups and even spoke at their meetings. All her fuss about money and family, he regarded with amused indulgence. She could have murdered him.

The one thing which saved the marriage was their sex relationship. Myra was highly passionate and had strong convictions against sex relationships outside of marriage. Therefore, Don was her only possibility, and when in his embrace she responded with such ardor that nothing else seemed to matter. In the meantime, other influences were at work. She got to know Buzz Saunders, head of the carpenter's local, and his wife, and some others whom she once regarded as riff-raff. Gradually she came to appreciate them as persons and to see herself as she had been at the time of her marriage, a rather stuffy and bigoted person. Her ideas about friends and status she saw as not her own, but those of her parents. As she became weaned from her early training, life looked different. She came increasingly to appreciate and to love her husband. Her sexual satisfactions had enabled her to "hang on" until other and more substantial bases of relationships had been established. Her conflicts with her husband had been intense, but they were not deeply rooted in her personality. If they had been, it is doubtful that her sexual



satisfactions would have sufficed to overcome them. She would have been unable to become deeply involved emotionally with her husband, and the marriage would have broken.

This, then, seems to be the significance of sex involvements. Outside of marriage they can be intense, but because of a lack of security in their continuance, are likely to result in frustration. In consequence they are damaging and harmful to personality. Within marriage the involvements are desirable and beneficial, provided there are also other essentials for success. Marriage is a fairly complex and involved total situation. Love is not the only or, necessarily, the crucial factor in its success. But the chances of sex relationships producing a desirable involvement are decidedly greater if the couple are securely in love, than if they feel indifferent or antagonistic toward each other.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SEXUAL SATISFACTION FOR MARITAL SUCCESS <sup>5</sup>

We have already made a good start toward answering the question which young couples are so often concerned about, "How important is sex in marriage success?" In recent years, some "authorities" have given the impression that in marriage, sex is about the only thing which counts. For example, Sadler and Sadler declare that "unsatisfied sexual emotions of married folks are an active source of definite physical and mental ills and emotional adjustment. Many of the quarrels of married people as well as wrecked homes originate in the discords of the physical sex life" (p. 223). Some people have assumed that marriage counseling was mainly a matter of helping couples with sexual techniques. Popular manuals have spread this impression, whatever may have been the intention of their authors.

Such absurd exaggerations greatly need correction. For, as Reik points out (p. 204), sexual compatibility is determined,

---

<sup>5</sup> For further discussions of this point see Cowan and Guerard, Dickinson, Gordon, and Wright; also Butterfield, *Marriage and Sexual Harmony*.

not by mechanics but by emotions, often subconscious. "In the realm of sex . . . there is no technique, there is only sincerity" (p. 202). "Sex" neuroses can come only as results of a total personality disturbance (p. 69).

In her excellent discussion of sex as a factor in domestic discord, H. R. Mowrer emphasizes all the complexity of the problem. Sex difficulties in marriage are only "part of a general conflict pattern finding expression symbolically." The release of physical tensions is satisfactory or unsatisfactory, only "to the extent to which it becomes part of the larger response pattern." The bases of conflict regarding sex arise out of such factors as:

1. Differences in the intensity of sex desire.
2. Fear of pregnancy.
3. Physical discomfort and pain in the relationships.
4. The use of sex as a control device. In order to avoid a refusal to permit sex relationships the partner yields to whatever may be demanded.
5. Unfavorable attitudes and conditionings.
6. Differences in patterns of response relationships, growing usually out of the experiences which the spouse had as a child in the family in which he grew up. Those who have not learned love and consideration for others may regard sex as something to be merely appropriated, with little concern for the sensitivities of others or awareness of the contributions which it might make to a cooperative relationship.

Actually, sex is only one part of a total situation. Its importance depends both upon the significance of these other components and the way it fits into them, as several research studies have shown. Terman found the sex factor of little importance for marriage happiness (pp. 247, 248). E. T. Kreuger found that many married couples have an increasingly satisfactory sex experience, right up to the time of their divorces. In a study of 409 couples who had been married twenty years or longer, Judson Landis found that while the happier marriages had better sex adjustments earlier, many

happy couples achieved satisfactory sex relationships very late, or even not at all. Sex relationships can be fun. They can even contribute to the happiness of persons, in fundamental ways. But they are not patent medicines capable of overcoming the conditioning experiences of years past, altering and rechanneling serious neuroses, or, if necessary, revamping a total personality. Sex techniques are not and cannot become a substitute for character, wholesome growth, or psychiatry.

In summary, let us repeat that sex relationships create the family. Once a family is established, they continue to nourish and strengthen a family in which the couple feel a wholesome affection toward each other. In the case of indifference or even antagonism they may contribute to a love which will strengthen the family, provided other factors are favorable. If the indifference or antagonisms are rooted in basic incompatibilities, or express serious personality limitations or distortions, sex relations are not likely to have significant effects upon the goodness or the stability of the marriage.

#### SUPPORT FOR THE SOCIAL CODE

In our culture the social code has demanded continence before marriage and fidelity to one partner after marriage. Marriage has strengthened this code in two important respects. In the first place, by offering socially acceptable sexual outlets it relieves tensions which many would otherwise find unendurable. Married couples who have ready sexual access to each other are under less pressure to consort sexually with others. Secondly, marriage provides a very special and effective type of private chaperonage. Every married person has some one with a vested interest in making sure that sex relationships do not occur outside of marriage, and who is frequently in an excellent position to see that they do not happen. Such chaperonage is rarely, however, complete. Husbands and wives cannot be together all the time and, in the anonymity of travel and the Big City, they

have abundant opportunities for adultery. Nothing can effectively substitute for mutual confidence and trust.

What about the difference between those who love or feel indifferent or antagonistic toward each other? Certainly the wife of a virily potent man who continuously pushes him off or is so disagreeable that sex relationships are unpleasant is strongly encouraging adultery. The husband may go to the "other woman," not merely to relieve his own tensions but to spite his wife, and vice versa. The indifferent spouse places the other under less of a strain, but may encourage the same thing. Many do not wish merely to relieve themselves. They wish a warm and loving response. If the other fails at this point, they are much more likely to seek someone outside who will respond. Yet both men and women are, as we have indicated, polyerotic. The man who has trouble with his wife is both pushed and pulled to consort with others. The man who loves is only pulled. Love with one does not make others necessarily less appealing. The sex relationships of a couple in love will make them less likely to stray to others but it will not guarantee any such result. Love in marriage is not a substitute for moral standards.

Closely related to such chaperonage are the effects of intercourse itself. Despite occasional exceptions, the physical capacity of most men is limited. If sexual intercourse within marriage occurs often enough, the husband may be physically unable to consort with others. But don't depend upon this too much.

## RESULTS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

Sexual relations can take place within marriage without loss of reputation. They do not, however, enhance it. If a married couple refrained from intercourse entirely they would have no different reputation, since everyone would assume that they cohabit. If their continence became known, they would be regarded as queer, rather than as morally better. Their love or lack of love would make little difference at this point. A couple may have a good reputation because



they are known to be devoted, or a bad reputation because of known antagonisms. But their reputations will not be better or worse because it is known that they cohabit.

What about guilt feelings? Some married people do feel some guilt, even now, but they certainly feel less than do the unmarried. Will their love or lack of it make any difference here? Probably not. Any guilt will probably result from childhood conditionings. Or will it? Childhood conditionings may make the couple more tense and less free to love. Sometimes those able to love freely will also be freer to enjoy sex without feelings of guilt. Yet others who do not love easily can indulge in all sorts of sex relationships without feeling guilty. Let us just say that it depends upon the individual. This statement is always safe.

From the standpoint of fears, married people have decided advantages over the unmarried. The pregnant wife usually can expect that the child will have a father who will accept responsibility for her and the child. The married person has less reason to fear that he may at any time lose the sex partner, sometimes when the emotional need is greatest. At this point the indifferent couple usually has a decided ethical advantage over those who are antagonistic, while by far the greatest security is for the couple who feels secure in their love for each other.

With other fears, these advantages may not hold. Probably most pregnant women have some fear of pain and death. The extent and harm of such fears is likely to depend more upon the general attitude toward the self and life, the courage of the individual, and similar factors, rather than upon the matrimonial status of the individual or even the feelings of the couple toward each other.

The wife usually enjoys far greater economic security, but this may vary considerably with the feelings of the couple toward each other. Ideals, personal pride, or social pressure may impel a man to provide for a wife whom he dislikes. Lacking such motives, his attitude toward his wife may make a considerable difference in his support. But the sex

relationships themselves will not likely affect such support unless they first influence his love or his resentments.

\* \* \*

Many, if not most, of the results of sexual intercourse may seem to operate regardless of marriage. Sexual intercourse can give physical release, intense pleasure, and result in pregnancy or venereal infection, whether the sex partners are married or not. But while any of these results *can* happen within or outside of marriage, the probabilities of many of them are profoundly affected by marriage. Here are the points at which the outcomes of sexual intercourse are most generally, significantly, and desirably influenced.

1. *Pleasure.* Sex relations are likely to give more pleasure in marriage than out of it because of greater opportunities for leisure, privacy, better physical conditions, and the development of skills.

2. *Release for women.* Marriage will not affect such components as natural passion or some types of emotional blockages. It can profoundly and favorably affect such factors as guilt feelings, concern for reputation, and security (both economic and relational) which can make a considerable difference in the release of orgasm.

3. *Venereal infection.* For those free from the diseases who cohabit only with each other, marriage provides practically complete protection against venereal infection. To the extent to which one or both have other sex relations on the outside, this protection diminishes.

4. *Maintainence of the race.* Only within marriage are sex relationships sufficiently productive to maintain the race. In provisions for the care of offspring, the marriage situation is incomparably superior to any alternative for our culture.

5. *Fulfillment of emotional involvements.* Only within the security of marriage are the emotional involvements which result from sex relations likely to lead to fulfillment, rather than to frustration.

6. *The family.* Out of the sex relationships of marriage emerges the family. In this alone can the personalities of men and the citizens of the future be most advantageously nurtured and formed. This function gives to the sex relationships of marriage a quality and a significance which is of vital social importance. The fact that sex relationships within marriage *can* be incomparably superior morally, by no means guarantees that they will be so. Sex relationships within marriage present wide moral differences, depending in part upon feelings of love and/or aversion. Sexual relationships between married couples who love each other have the following significant moral advantages:

1. The security of love is most conducive to physical satisfactions for women.
2. The love situation in the family best guarantees even the physical care of children. For their psycho-emotional development, it is indispensable.
3. Only loving relationships adequately provide for the fulfillment of sexually originated involvements which marriage makes possible.

In short, sexual relationships in marriage can be highly beneficial in the contributions which they make, both to the individual and to society. They are most beneficial and, hence, most moral when the married partners feel a deep and secure love for each other.

It is one thing, however, to say that sex relationships within marriage are more beneficial than those which occur outside of marriage. It is quite another to say that those outside of marriage are necessarily wrong. Down through the ages many have asked, at least in their conduct, "Why shouldn't we enjoy both?" We had better have some really sound answers to this question. The next chapters may help to provide them.

## 8.

### The Morality of Adultery

---

IF WE LOOK through all the writings in pamphlets and books, we may easily get the impression that only young, unmarried people face moral issues about sex. You will find occasionally, of course, some author who discusses adultery, often to defend it as not only moral but desirable.<sup>1</sup> Other writers like Schmalhausen and Calverton assume that since marriage is on the way out anyway, adultery is rapidly ceasing to be an issue. René Guyon is going to reconstruct the whole of society on a Utopian basis and, among other things, abolish practically all of our existing sex standards.<sup>2</sup> But apart from such extreme and sometimes fantastic discussions, little is to be found. This vacuum is all the more puzzling because there is such profusion of literature on the other sex problems of married people. Apparently, most sexologists and writers on ethics think that adultery just isn't a serious enough problem to merit discussion.

In fiction the situation is almost exactly the reverse. While such modern writers as James Farrell deal vigorously with the sex behavior of the young unmarried,<sup>3</sup> the great classics of literature concern the sexual escapades of the married.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* and his ex-wife Dora Russell's *The Right to be Happy*, ch. iv.

<sup>2</sup> For the implications of this reorganization for sex, see Guyon's book translated under the title *The Ethics of Sexual Acts*.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Studs Lonigan*.



Take Boccaccio's *Decameron*, for example. If we leave out tales of the escapades of monks, nuns, and other churchmen not permitted to marry, the "affairs" of the married outnumber those of the unmarried more than five to one. Down through the ages, from the account of David and Bathsheba to *Madame Bovary*, *The Scarlet Letter*, and *Anna Karenina*, not to speak of more recent "best sellers," the narratives are centered around the situation of adultery. Those who are most sensitive to the pulse of human life know that the issues of adultery reach far deeper than do the relationships of unmarried youth.

#### WHAT IS ADULTERY?

Adultery has not always meant the same to everybody. Some people mean by it any sex relationships outside of marriage. Other people regard a relationship as adulterous only if the woman is married. St. Basil, a famous Father of the Eastern Church, regarded the relations of a married man with a single woman as fornication. In the Ten Commandments adultery meant infringing upon the rights of the husband. Old Testament legislation regarded relations with a married woman as in an entirely different category from relations with an unmarried woman. (Cf. Deut. 20:20-24 with Exod. 22:16.) The prophet Nathan condemned King David for taking Bathsheba on the grounds that he had violated the rights of her husband, Uriah. When David later took the unmarried Abishag, no one thought that it was even improper. In other cases, what is legally adultery is sociologically polygyny. In our culture, the man who has more than one wife is guilty of bigamy, rather than adultery. The *Jane Eyre* situation poses still another problem. Here a man is married to a hopelessly insane wife in a country which does not permit divorce. His relations with the girl he loves are technically and legally adultery. Actually, it is a kind of private divorce with re-marriage. Our problem here, however, is not to discuss the various meanings which have been given to adultery, but to define what we shall mean by the

term. By adultery we shall mean sex relationships in which one or both of the participants is married to somebody else. The sex relationships of the unmarried we shall call fornication, the subject of the next chapter.

Adultery is not one, but several possible situations which will vary in their effects upon people. Here are some of these possibilities:

1. The adultery is open and accepted.
2. The adultery is open but resented.
3. The adultery is concealed because, if discovered, it would not be accepted.
4. The adultery is occasional; perhaps limited to a single slip which will not recur.
5. The adultery is a deliberate policy. This may involve a series of temporary episodes or one or more enduring relationships.
6. The adultery is absorbed into the family situation without seriously affecting its stability.
7. The adultery is unaccepted and results in a break-up of the family. The break may involve anything from divorce to murder and often has.

The effects and, hence, to some extent the morality of the adultery will depend upon both the nature of the experience and the ways in which it is received. Let us now consider in more detail some of these probable variations in effect.

### *Open and Accepted*

People brought up with middle-class Anglo-Saxon mores have found it difficult to believe that adultery could be accepted without considerable resentment. They like to cite the case of the Russells. Bertrand and his former wife Dora both wrote books advocating that married people should freely consort sexually with others and that the spouse should accept such digressions without jealousy. When Dora later divorced Bertrand on the ground of adultery, they were quick to say, "There, you see. It is all right to put such things in a book, but when it comes right down to it, you just

can't take it.<sup>4</sup> I shall not presume to judge the Russells. But there are numerous incidents in which adultery as we here use the term has been accepted without evidence of resentment. Pearl Buck in her *Pavilion of Women* has the wife of a wealthy Chinese suddenly tire of her sex relationships with him. Realizing that her husband still has sexual desires, she thoughtfully provides him, over his own protests, with a woman, gives the woman a real position in the household, and regards with interest the arrival of their child. There are many and ancient precedents. According to the Biblical accounts, Abraham's wife Sarah herself provided him with a concubine, as did both the wives of their grandson Jacob. Whether these stories are historical or not, they unquestionably reflect the mores of their times. In many cultures it was expected that men would freely consort with others, often with the proviso that they should not infringe upon the rights of a husband. The kings of France consorted openly with their mistresses, freely acknowledged their numerous bastards and bestowed upon them high titles and positions. Constantine, Charles Martel, and William the Conqueror, all examples of the results of adulterous unions, actually succeeded to royal power, aided, we must admit, by their own considerable abilities. Naturally women will defend their vested interests in their husbands and will resent, if not resist, any adulterous relationships which threatens their economic, social, or other interests. But if these remain secure, a woman may regard the digressions of her husband, not only without resentment, but with relief. Many groups assume that marriage is for property and position, and that sexual love will be found on the outside. Sexual jealousy is "natural" only when it has been learned.

Such freedom has been mainly for men, but by no means limited to them. Prior to the French Revolution, members of the royal court often openly adopted the wives of their fellow nobles as mistresses. Far from resenting this, the husbands sometimes arranged such affairs, hoping thereby to secure favors or position. In our own culture we occasionally

---

<sup>4</sup> Such is the position of Hornell Hart in his *Personality and the Family*.

find groups of married couples who freely exchange sexual partners, apparently without resentment. As sex has become more recognized and accepted, the resentment toward the adultery of women has declined. I have myself counseled with several highly respectable men, clergy and college professors, who have accepted the adultery of their wives with a casualness which once would have seemed incredible. The open acceptance of adultery inevitably changes some of its consequences.

### *Open but Resented*

Mr. Brown is a prominent lawyer in a western city. He is married and has four children, three of them now grown. Ten years ago he met and fell in love with another woman and asked his wife for a divorce. This she refused to grant. He then proceeded openly to consort with his lover, even bringing her to certain social events. Everyone in the town knows the situation, including all the children. The wife feels bitter and resentful, but still continues to live in the same house with the family. The results of this behavior will be affected both by the openness and the resentment felt toward the adultery.

The absence of vigorous protest against adultery does not necessarily mean that it is accepted without resentment. Sometimes it is endured because it cannot be helped. Even in our country, financial, social, and other considerations will induce a person to remain married to an adulterous spouse whose conduct is deeply resented.

### *Concealed*

In this country, the adulterous couple usually make at least some attempts to keep from being found out, either by the spouse or the general public. Sometimes the concealment is carefully done and effective. Sometimes it is decidedly flimsy and partial. The attitude of the spouse may present interesting variations. Some suspicious husbands and wives seem eager to discover adultery, even where there is none. In other cases they do their best to keep from finding out. "The



wife is always the last one to know." There may be several reasons for this attitude. If fidelity within marriage means a great deal, the discovery of adultery in a mate whom one has trusted can be extremely serious. It may seriously undermine confidence or make one feel compelled to break up a family to which she is devoted. In this, as in so many areas, people will often go to extreme lengths to convince themselves that what they don't want to believe isn't so. The main reason for concealment is to avoid social consequences. The guilty party may wish to avoid causing pain to the spouse or to keep from losing his reputation or even his job.

### *Occasional*

Lona Vale was lonely. Her husband was away on a business trip. There was no reason why Red shouldn't have called her up. After all, they had been old high school flames and he didn't know that her husband was out of town; in fact, he planned to take both of them to a show. Since he was such an old friend, why shouldn't she have gone with him? After the show, what more natural than to invite him in for a drink? Neither had planned anything more. They were just sitting on the studio couch, talking over old times when Red's arm slipped around her waist, just as it used to. That seemed to touch off something which neither of them could control. Red left soon after, with many apologies. In the morning, bitter tears of shame and remorse coursed down Lona's cheeks. Never, never, never will anything like that happen again.

Technically, Lona is an adulteress. In some reports she would be just another statistic, undifferentiated from women who make a practice of "entertaining" men in their apartments, frequently and often. The effects of her behavior, however, will be different in a number of rather basic respects.

### *Deliberate*

Vera Lance is in a "fortunate" position. Her husband is on the road a good deal and she lives in a huge apartment

house. She is able to extend her sexual favors to the four men whom she "loves" with a minimum of risk and disturbance. In time she will tire of them, and deny them further relationships. But by then they will have been replaced by other "friends."

Paul Vance is in a somewhat different situation. He loves his wife sincerely. He also has loved Mary Farr for many years. Sexually, these have been the only women in his life. They probably will so remain. But he loves them both and will not give either of them up.

### *Adultery Which Is Absorbed*

Mrs. Vance knows about Mary Farr. She knows that the relationship costs very little money and that her husband loves both her and their children. At any time she could get a divorce. But she fails to see how any good would result, and she wants to keep her family intact. She feels confident, too, that the situation will not become any worse. So she just accepts it, reconciles herself to the loss of her husband's company for a couple of nights a week, and makes the best of what she has. One young lady was warned that if she married the man to whom she was engaged, he would lead a double life.

She promptly replied, "But if I don't marry him, I'll lead a single life."

Bill Vale took a similar attitude regarding Lona. When he returned, she could not bear to have this experience between them, so she sobbed out the whole story. Bill was naturally shocked, but he ended by taking Lona in his arms. What might have destroyed their marriage, actually cemented it more strongly together. It was not the adultery which cemented it. It was Lona's ideals which made her feel shame, her integrity which prompted her to be honest with Bill, and the deep and abiding love which both of them felt toward each other and their relationship.

### *The Adultery Is Not Accepted and Destroys the Family*

Abner Hard could not take it that way. When he heard

that his wife was spending the night with Bruce Fox instead of with her mother, he grabbed his gun and went to investigate. Pushing open a window he saw them in bed together and as they raised up he fired both barrels. Pleading the "unwritten law" may get him off in court, but his family is obviously gone.

Irma Petty would not dream of using a gun or any other form of violence. But she destroyed her marriage, just the same. When she heard that husband Frank had spent the night with Sally, her humiliation and indignation knew no bounds. Frank begged and pleaded for forgiveness, but she was adamant. He had destroyed their marriage. If their two children suffered because they had no father, it was his fault, and his alone. Adultery to her meant just one thing; the complete severance of all relations, regardless. Other women and men do not feel so compulsively rigid. But whether necessarily so or not, adultery does result in the break-up of countless marriages. Love triangles often become wreck-tangles.

In these seven different situations, we have indicated one thing; that adultery has different results under different circumstances, depending in part upon the attitudes of those involved. We have not said that some forms of adultery are moral. We do insist that there are wide variations in the moral results of adultery which any valid code of sex conduct must take into consideration.

## THE MOTIVES OF ADULTERY

The physician, confronted with a patient who complains of an ache or pain, must first of all determine what it means. If it means appendicitis, he does one thing. If it means green apples, a quite different treatment is called for. So it is with adultery. The cases cited illustrate the variety of adulterous behavior, but tell us little about the individuals involved. *Why* does Vera Lance feel so differently about her behavior than did Lona Vale? *Why* does Paul Vance love Mary Farr so *compulsively*? *Why* did Bill Vale react so differently to the adultery of his wife than Abner Hard? What does adul-

terous behavior in any situation mean to those involved? We can hardly take the space in a general discussion to answer such questions in each specific case. We can, however, emphasize the need in a moral evaluation of any particular instance of adultery of understanding the motives and meaning of the behavior. We can also suggest some of the more common motives which will aid in such interpretation.

### 1. *A Desire for Sexual Variety*

If sexual pleasure were merely the physiological experience of orgasm, masturbation would be the only thing necessary. Such considerations as the age and attractiveness of the sexual partner would be matters of indifference. But the personality does make a difference in sex appeal. Therefore, experiences with a number of different persons provides a sexual variety impossible if relationships are limited to only one. People commit adultery for the simple reason that they find others to be sexually appealing.

### 2. *Love*

Those who have the capacity to love will normally love many people. Many of these will be of the same sex, too young or too old, or otherwise not sexually attractive, so that sexual expressions will have little appeal. Some of those loved most dearly will not be regarded as sex objects because they are members of the same family. But others will be attractive members of the opposite sex. Toward these we will naturally feel some desire for the sexual expression of our love. Whatever may be its moral limitations, some adultery is the sincere expression of a genuine love.

### 3. *Financial Reasons*

There are in our society a number of young, attractive, and unscrupulous women. There are also many frustrated, disappointed, well-to-do married men who ought not to run around loose without a guardian. Adultery often presents attractive financial possibilities. Need we say more?



#### 4. *Compulsions, Hostilities, and Resentments*

As we said in Chapter 5, sex can be a means of channeling hostilities and resentments. For various reasons, adultery sometimes offers better opportunities to express our "cussedness" than marriage does, especially if we want to "get even" with a spouse. The very fact that it can hurt, shame, and otherwise damage makes it often an excellent means for revenge. Desenberg suggests also that the forbidden nature of adultery, played up by movies and drama, constitutes one of its major attractions. He feels that our failure to present the attractions of sex relations within marriage constitutes one of the reasons for moral laxity. Conjugal relations are "too proper and legitimate to satisfy the off-color sex pattern" of our culture.

The above four reasons are by no means all, but they are some of the major motives of adultery, in the light of which its meanings can often be understood. Let us now try to determine how adulterous behavior is likely to affect those involved. We shall follow, in general, the outline of consequences developed in Section II. The results of the various forms of adulterous behavior will be compared, not only with each other, but with other forms of sexual intercourse.

#### PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF ADULTERY

In providing physical release for men, one form of adultery would not differ materially from any other form of either adultery or other sexual intercourse. For the man whose wife is physically available, adultery offers him nothing at this point which his own marriage cannot provide. But sometimes his own wife is not available. He may be separated from her geographically, and in war this can be for long periods of time. His wife may be ill, or in an advanced stage of pregnancy so that sexual intercourse with her is undesirable. Because of emotional blockages or a difference in the frequency of desire for intercourse, she may refuse him. Under a system of monogamy, there are always times when

adultery offers the only heterosexual relief. Please don't interpret this simple statement of fact, as an endorsement of adultery.

The same general situation holds true for physical release for women. The husband may be away, or ill, or unwilling or incapable of giving her what she wants. The wife is in a somewhat more difficult position than her husband at this point, because she has nothing corresponding to the nocturnal emission. Although relief is not necessary, if she finds it, it must be through either masturbation or adultery. Yet no form of sexual intercourse, whether within or outside of marriage, will guarantee release. Her release will depend in part upon physical and psychological predispositions which are unrelated to any particular situation. Love can make a considerable difference. Such love is far more likely to be present in marriage than in adultery and more likely to be present in an enduring adulterous relationship than in one which is transient. Yet in the long run, love in an enduring adulterous relationship may work against release. Why? Because the woman who loves her adulterous partner is more likely to keep on until she breaks up her own family. In this case, she may lose not only her reputation, but children whom she loves. Fear of such loss may work against her release. So also can guilt feelings. If her husband knows about her adultery and accepts it, she will probably be less fearsome and better able to get release than if she must keep her relationship concealed and worry all the time about being found out. If the adultery is occasional and absorbed into the family situation she will have less need to fear than if it becomes a policy which results in the break-up of her family.

As with her husband, there will be times when she will be unable to enjoy the pleasures of sex relations within marriage. Adultery for her, as for him, can add to the pleasure, not only by providing substitute possibilities, but also by offering a greater variety. This additional pleasure is not a moral justification for adultery. But we gain nothing by

denying that adultery is often a highly pleasurable indulgence.

In contrast to the fornicator, the adulterer runs a greater risk of getting caught and more severe penalties when he is caught. The fornicator is less likely to be caught because he has no spouse keeping an eagle eye on him. And if he is caught, he faces only the penalties of the general public. He has no family which can be broken up, nor children whom he may lose as a result of court action. There is no wife or husband who has been badly hurt and who may do damaging things to him in retaliation.

In other respects, however, the adulterer is in a better position than the fornicator. The very fact that he is married means that he is more likely to be older, more confident, and poised. His sex experiences in marriage may mean that he lacks much of the timidity and clumsiness which may spoil the pleasure for an immature youth. The physical surroundings are likely to be better. In cases where the adultery is open and accepted, as when groups of couples exchange sexual partners, he is likely to have free use of a good house or apartment, and, sometimes, even the presence of the spouse to protect his reputation. If the relationship is concealed, one of the parties is likely to have an established place where the relationship can occur with privacy and leisure. In any case, the older group is likely to have more money so that if necessary they can rent better physical accommodations than youthful unmarried couples are likely to afford.

Adultery, like any relationship which extends sexual contact, increases the dangers of venereal infection. If the adultery is a rather enduring relationship with only one or two persons, this danger may be slight. If it is a series of repeated episodes, the danger will be considerably increased. The greatest danger is where the adultery includes an entire group. Let us not be stupid. Those who accept adultery will not always be high-minded, ethical, and careful about venereal infection. One infected member would quickly infect the entire group. A man is far less likely to be "true" to five

women, or to twenty-five, than he is to one. The more accepted the adultery is, the more people it will include. The more people it includes, the greater the risks of venereal infection.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ADULTERY

Adultery may have many of the same psychological results as other forms of sexual intercourse. Whatever hostilities, resentments, compulsions, or other feelings which exist may be channeled through adultery. Thus a man may commit adultery to punish himself. He may be expressing a hatred originally felt toward his mother, but now disguised and projected upon the entire female sex. He may be trying to "get even" with his own wife, or to reassure himself as to his own virility, masculinity, or attractiveness. The adulterous wife may be trying to compensate for failures or trying to win again the adulation which she once received from doting parents. And, as we have seen, love also can be channeled and expressed through adulterous intercourse.

When adultery channels love it can easily create another problem which we have already discussed; emotional involvement. The dangers of this are one of its major risks. An awareness of this risk was once brought forcibly to my attention in a counseling case. A city business man had invited a friend to spend the week-end at his winter camp. His wife went up early to prepare things, and he fully expected to arrive Friday afternoon, well before the scheduled arrival of his guest. The friend arrived a bit early, just missing a blizzard which prevented the husband from arriving until the next day. Because of the weather and the absence of other possibilities, the wife had no choice except to allow the guest to stay overnight in the same house with her. The husband recognized the fact that you can't turn a man out in a raging snowstorm just to preserve appearances. He also accepted the wife's account that the evening passed pleasantly but without improper relations. Intellectually he accepted things, but emotionally he was bothered, partly because he knew



that his wife and the guest were genuinely fond of each other. He came with his wife for counseling in order to clear up his own feelings.

The wife freely admitted a considerable fondness for the guest and acknowledged that they both would have liked to express their feelings sexually. She and the guest both knew, however, that such a relationship could have no satisfactory future; that to cohabit that one night would be to increase a need for each other which they could not continue to meet. This explanation satisfied the husband and effectively dispelled his doubts.

The wife showed considerable insight and put her finger on what is, under the conditions of our culture, a major disadvantage of adultery. Among the most pitiable of creatures are women who have become sexually and, therefore, emotionally involved with married men who have no intention of divorcing their wives and breaking up their families. The woman has often built up a compulsive need without any moral justification or sociological basis for demanding what is necessary to satisfy the need. The wife in our illustration saw this, and she wasn't having any. The very affection which she felt for the guest made the situation more dangerous. The occasional episode is less dangerous at this point than the prolonged "affair." But even a single incident may be enough to trip off considerable tensions and emotional pressures which, when thus released, have no place to go.

Other psychological results turn about feelings of guilt, shame, and resentment. In our culture many, if not most, people would feel a certain amount of guilt and shame, if they were to commit adultery, and resentment toward the adultery of others, especially if it were that of the spouse. Such attitudes, whether right or wrong, are as real as mountains, rivers, bacteria, and flesh. In recent years these feelings seem to have diminished, at least for some. Tennyson expressed the spirit of his age when he described Lancelot's attitude toward Guinevere as "the great and guilty love he bare the queen." Carney Landis' study showed that at least that group of wives felt less guilt about their adultery than

about their premarital experiences. Furthermore, "The wives were usually much more concerned with the husband's attitude than with their own sense of guilt" (p. 174). For them, the social consequences of adultery had become the major consideration. Let us now consider what some of these are.

#### SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ADULTERY

As Hawthorne portrayed so vividly in his *Scarlet Letter*, adultery can have serious social consequences. These will depend in part upon the attitudes which people have toward it. If the adultery is accepted and absorbed, or if it is successfully concealed, the consequences will be less serious than if it is detected and resented so vigorously as to result in the break-up of families. The attitudes toward adultery will vary because of such differences as the following:

*The period in which you live.* The age of Boccaccio was much more tolerant toward it than the Victorian Period.

*The sub-group to which you are related.* Indulgent secular groups will tolerate it much more than will strict religious groups.

*Sex.* A wife may be stoned to death for conduct which in her husband would be regarded with amused indulgence.

*Social class.* In our culture the middle classes are the most strict. The top and bottom groups are the most lenient. Related to this is social position. Some families, like royalty, can do no wrong.

*Vocation.* People demand more of clergy and educators than of machinists and salesmen. Such differences in attitudes mean that in some instances adultery will be regarded as only a minor digression. In other cases it will mean social ostracism and vocational death.

Because of such differences in attitudes, the social consequences of adultery will vary widely. Sometimes it will ap-

parently result in nothing more serious than an indulgent laugh. In other cases, the penalty will be death at the hands of an irate mate. If you will go over the files of more "sensational" newspapers, you will find numerous accounts of "triangle" killings. A far more common result is the loss of one's children as a result of divorce proceedings. If the children are awarded to the "innocent" party, the other loses them entirely except for occasional visiting privileges. If the court orders that the children divide their time between the parents, each loses them part of the time. For parents who love their children, such losses can be as severe a punishment as the more direct brutalities of an earlier age.

Financial costs, too, are often heavy. A business man is said to have sent a letter to a delinquent debtor, enclosing a picture of his wife and children and saying, "This is why I need the money." He received in reply a picture of a voluptuous blonde under which was written, "This is why I can't pay." This story may be funny to the reader, but it is not funny for those involved in such situations. Adultery usually requires expensive accommodations (hotel rooms, vacations, traveling expenses) and "gifts." These last can make it a form of prostitution. The amount of these costs will vary with the situation including the character of the other party. A crooked "gold digger" may, by a threat of exposure and suit, get more from one episode than an honest lover will take over a period of years. But whatever the situation, it is almost certain to be very expensive. If the adulterer has more than enough money or if "the other woman" pays all or most of the costs, the financial loss may not be serious. Most families do not have a financial surplus. In many, many instances, the adultery costs, not merely money, but some of the food, clothing, shelter, and medical services which the wife and children need. To say with Dr. Haire that, apart from venereal infection, "No harm is done to one marital partner through the other partner having sexual intercourse elsewhere" is to ignore numerous and tragic facts all about us.

If the adultery results in the conception of a child, what

then? The situation usually presents most difficulties when the man is married and the girl is not. They cannot pass the child off as legitimate, as they might if the girl were married. Unless he first divorces his wife, there is no chance of the father marrying the girl, as he could if both were unmarried. Even if the man would like to do "the right thing," doing so involves not only heavy financial costs, but also a possible scandal which would ruin him and break up his own family. The unmarried father may try to duck out on all responsibilities for his conduct. But if he wants to, he can accept responsibility. The married father cannot, even if he wants to.

If the mother is married, the chances for the child are usually much better. There is an already established home into which he may be received. If the husband does not know of the adultery of his wife, he may accept the child as his own. Rosamond Marshall in her novel *Kitty* has the Duke of Malminster accept with enthusiasm as his heir a child really conceived by her lover. Such a situation raises other moral issues, but for the child it usually has decided advantages, especially if the secret is always kept. Secondly, even if the husband does know of the adultery, he cannot be sure that the child is not his, unless he has been impotent or away. In any case he may accept the child, either out of love for his wife, his desire to give the child a decent start in life, or his wish to avoid a scandal. Furthermore, even if the husband does know, the public may not. The unmarried woman must conceal her pregnancy from those who know her or suffer a loss in reputation. If she is married, however, such concealment is rarely necessary. With rare exceptions her friends will assume her husband to be the father. Compared to monogamous marriage, the pregnancy of an adulterous wife has obvious risks and disadvantages. But compared to fornication, the advantages for the child and for the reputation of the mother lie with adultery.

Like all relationships outside of marriage, adultery tends to tear down and weaken the supporting code. This effect will depend largely upon the extent to which the adultery is known. If only the couple know it, the weakening will be



limited largely to them. If it is open and accepted, the weakening will include the social group and all who know of the situation. Oncoming generations will clearly understand that the code need not be observed. Efforts to persuade them to observe it will be, to that extent, less effective. The effects upon any particular group of youth will depend mainly upon the extent and nature of relationship with the adulterers. If the adulterers do not "rate," the effects of their behavior may be slight. If they are the parents, leaders, or "heroes" with whom the youth feel identified and to whom they look for guidance, the influence may be profound.

What is the significance of adultery for family life? It is easy to assume that any adultery must seriously undermine the family. Actually, the effects of adultery can vary widely. Its effects will depend upon its costs, whether or not it is known, and the attitudes of those involved toward it. A single episode which costs little and is never discovered may have little effect. If it costs considerably, it will, to that extent, weaken the economic base of the family, whether it is discovered or not. If it is known, the results will depend upon the attitude toward it. If family solidarity is based upon property and position, open adultery may be easily absorbed without significant effects. As the Binkleys say, the important consideration is often "the meaning that the husband and wife attach to the adulterous acts." If they believe that adultery is the supreme disloyalty, "the destructive effects of sex liberty upon their family life will be great and inevitable" (pp. 203, 204).

We must be careful at this point to distinguish between cause and effect. Did adultery break up this marriage, or did the wife commit adultery because the marriage was already broken up, so that she had to get the love and affection which she wanted from someone on the outside? Following this lead, some claim that in some situations adultery can contribute to family solidarity. "Some men just couldn't stand it to keep on living with the wives they've got if they couldn't get a little sex love from someone else." Margaret Mead states the same idea in reverse. "When there is free-

dom to divorce, there is less freedom for either casual relationships or passionate extra-marital love of any sort" (pp. 357, 358).

On the whole, however, adultery unquestionably tends to undermine the family. It usually dissipates resources needed by the family, affectional as well as economic, and it destroys the mutual confidence upon which family life in a free society must rest. George Murdock, who suggests the desirability of a freer situation for the unmarried, feels quite differently about the married. He points out that "The experience of mankind thus warns us to resist the development of a permissive attitude toward adultery. . . . Marital fidelity . . . is one of the main buttresses of a social structure" (p. 135).

\* \* \*

Novelists and dramatists know that adultery is a central problem. Moralists have not been so discerning. The result is a serious gap where intelligent guidance is urgently needed.

Many of the results of adultery, including most of the physical and many of the psychological, are similar to those of other forms of sexual intercourse. The problem of involvement, however, is usually more serious than is the case with the unmarried. The social penalties are likely to be more severe, although these vary widely with the attitudes of those involved and the social situation. Unwanted pregnancy is probably less serious than with the unmarried. Adultery is both a result and a cause of family breakdown and the sex code designed to protect family life.

Adultery is not one, but a number of distinguishable situations, which present wide differences in their probable effects. These we may indicate somewhat as follows:

### *1. Adultery open and accepted*

Because it is open, the adultery will not involve the evils of deceit and the loss of confidence and trust which so often results.

Since it is accepted, the participants are unlikely to feel guilt or shame or suffer social penalties. The spouse is unlikely to feel resentment, with their accompanying results. The economic costs will vary with the situation, but will not include blackmail.

Open and accepted adultery is generally possible only in a relatively rigid society where social and religious restrictions and certain types of property inheritance (as feudalism) provide for family solidarity. Therefore it will not disrupt the family.

Such conditions will probably make impossible the development of a free society in which families are based upon loving relationships. It will be at least difficult to develop a social code which will restrict sex relationships to marriage.

## *2. Adultery open but not accepted*

Since the resentment is likely to be limited to those helpless to do anything about it, neither guilt and shame, nor social penalties are likely to be severe. Family solidarity will likely rest upon the same grounds as those stated above. The main differences will be in the attitude of the spouse, on the basis of which the beginnings of a social code restricting sex to marriage can be made.

The resentments of the spouse become the more dangerous because they are likely to be repressed and to emerge as disguised hostilities, often projected upon the innocent helpless. The resentful wife may take it out on her children.

## *3. Adultery concealed*

Successful concealment may avoid social penalties and the resentments of the spouse. Shame and guilt may be increased. If the concealment is unsuccessful, as it often is, the result is to undermine confidence and trust. Concealed adultery bears not only all the usual economic costs, but often the additional costs of blackmail, which may be considerable. Both the social code and the family are protected to the extent to which the concealment is effective.

#### 4. *Occasional adultery*

Occasional adultery is like an occasional accident. Its results can be trivial or fatal and anything in between. The more "occasional" it is the less the chances of detection, with the social penalties and consequences of resentment involved. The economic costs are less and there is less undermining of the family and supporting social codes.

#### 5. *Habitual adultery*

Habitual adultery is, on the whole, quite the opposite. Detection is almost certain. With this will come whatever penalties the social group desires to impose and whatever retaliation the attitudes and capacities of the spouse demand. The economic costs will be relatively high, depending in part upon the demands and bargaining strength of "the other woman" (or man). The effects upon family life and the social code will be relatively serious.

#### 6. *Adultery which is accepted and absorbed*

Accepting and absorbing adultery will diminish the results of private retaliation and the threat to family life. Will it also encourage further adulteries and thus make the situation worse? This could happen, but seems unlikely. Those who will go on to the point where family break-up is unavoidable would probably do so anyway, regardless of penalties.

#### 7. *Adultery which is not accepted and absorbed*

This can be really serious. It can involve the social penalties of loss of reputation and position. Private retaliation is likely to go as far as a break-up of the family with a consequent loss of children. It may even eventuate in murder. On the other hand, the very seriousness of the non-acceptance may give substantial support to a restrictive social code.

As I write this chapter I can fairly feel some of my reader audience breathing down my neck in hot gasps. Pointing out the moral distinctions between different kinds of adultery



will cause some to accuse, "This man is endorsing adultery, at least in some forms." At the opposite extreme will be those who will say, "This man is really mid-Victorian. All this talk about the 'scientific' is only propaganda for shoving down people's throats as much of the outworn code as he can get away with." I trust that both accusations are wrong. I intend to advocate, neither greater permissiveness nor greater strictness. I advocate, rather, more scientific understanding, trusting that this will best indicate *where* we should be more permissive and where more strict. This same point of view holds for the chapters which follow.

## 9.

### The Morality of Fornication

---

AN EARLY SCENE of the play *Mr. Roberts* presents several significant problems. A group of sailors on a naval supply ship off a Pacific island during the war are ordered to clean the binoculars. They discover that by training them on the hospital they can get a revealing view of the women's room, then being used by a group of newly-arrived nurses. They proceed to give detailed and intimate descriptions of the anatomy of the girls. The scene itself is honest and sound. Here is a group of men, many of them boys in emotional development, who have been cut off for about a year from all contact with mother, sister, or girl friend and who are famishing for feminine contacts.

Although sex hunger is different in important respects, as we have seen, from the hunger for food and drink, it is still a hunger. If the play had portrayed hungry men going through garbage cans for scraps of food or thirsty men sucking eagerly at muddy ground, the audience would not have thought it funny. But they found the responses of boys to sex deprivation uproariously hilarious.

The reactions of the spectators were more interesting than the well-written lines. The size of the audience and the prices suggest a dominately middle-class group. The "amusement" may have been, in part, an emotional response to the shock of "unconventional" language. It was probably also a "guilt-and-glee" reaction to the flaunting of middle-class

mores. It certainly showed no intelligent understanding, either of the nature of personality distress or fundamental ethics. For the play portrayed boys, not only emotionally starved, but basically irresponsible. Watching unclad females might be defended as an indulgence which harms no one. Indiscriminate sexual intercourse inevitably has serious consequences. In boasting of their sexual prowess and plans, the boys showed not the slightest concern for what these would mean to themselves, their sexual partners, or any children which might result. We have considerable evidence that such sexual irresponsibility is typical of "lower-class" mores. We have even more conclusive evidence that if it were not for the responsibility which the middle class has, on the whole, staunchly upheld, the level of living for all would take a nose dive. Among other results would be an anarchistic chaos from which people would speedily seek refuge in some form of dictatorship. Only a tragically unenlightened and confused group would find irresponsibility in any area of life to be funny. In both the play and the audience response to it we have a crucial problem of sex morals; the adjustment of powerful sex drives to the demands of social responsibility. Although this issue is by no means limited to fornication, it emerges here with special clarity and urgency.

"It is all right for you to preach chastity. You are well past the peak of your desire, and, anyway, you have a wife to give you your satisfactions. But what about us poor guys. We are supposed to go without satisfaction at the time when our desires are most intense." This complaint of youth has been regarded with increasing sympathy.

Even in the "old days" it was recognized that for young men, "purity" would involve a bitter struggle with the "baser passions," and victory would be a real achievement. Now the passions are no longer considered "base," but essentially wholesome. We have also discovered that the middle teens is for males the period of most intense desire. The crisis of war and the continued threat of war have both increased the tensions and reduced the restraints. Even those who like George Murdock, condemn adultery in most vigorous terms

strongly suggest that premarital permissiveness would have important advantages. All of us have recognized that if such permissiveness is to be denied, there must be some very important reasons which youth must clearly understand.

In presenting these supposedly important reasons we face a less well-recognized disadvantage; the limitations of our middle-class psychology.<sup>1</sup> In our culture, the articulate groups—those who write the books and articles, preach the sermons in church or school, and give the lectures—are middle class, and the more idealistic middle class at that. Most discussions of sex morals for youth assume a middle-class situation and the standards of middle-class respectability. Among certain middle-class youth, such appeals can have real effectiveness. For the vast majority, they have little meaning or influence. As W. F. Whyte has so effectively pointed out, the sex code of a slum may be basically so different, as to make middle-class discussions of sex morals irrelevant or even dangerously misleading.

Moralists ought also to know better than they do how moral standards actually develop. They rarely result from words, either written or spoken, unless these are intimately related to on-going experiences or dynamic frustrations. Usually sex standards, like all moral standards, emerge out of, and result from, the group influences to which the individual is most intimately related. The scoffing laugh and boastings of the "gang" leader usually have much greater influence than the preachments of the middle-class school teacher. The actual behavior of a prominent movie star may outweigh the exhortations of countless clergy. Middle-class standards can have a powerful influence upon those of the lower class who want to rise, or at least be accepted by the middle classes. Usually far more powerful are the standards of the group to which the individual is actually related.

The other great influence is that of the family. This is often stronger than that of the rest of the community. But when

---

<sup>1</sup> The class structure of American society has been clearly pointed out and carefully studied by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues. See especially their *Yankeetown* studies.



the attitudes of the family and community are in harmony, their influence is usually overwhelming and decisive. We of the middle class may not be able to overcome the limitations of our background. But we should at least be aware that the great majority regard life, including sex, quite differently than we do, and understand the problems affecting other groups.

Like other forms of sex behavior, fornication is not one, but several different and varied situations. These may be listed as follows:

### *Relatively Normal Situations*

1. Pickups
2. Casual friends
3. Good friends
4. Lovers
5. Engaged couples

### *Situations Abnormal for Biological and/or Cultural Reasons*

1. Incest
2. Sex relationships with children
3. Relationships with much older persons
4. Prostitution, which will be considered as a separate problem in the next chapter.

## FORNICATION IN NORMAL SITUATIONS

What is "normal"? The word comes from the word "norm." Sometimes the norm is that of current and accepted practice. In one age it is normal for people to believe in witches and in another it is not. It once was normal for Chinese girls to have bound feet. Or the norm may be some supposed demand of nature. Thus we regard club feet and extra fingers as abnormalities. We call the social and economic conditions produced by wars "abnormal," both because of their effects upon people and the supposedly temporary nature of their immediate causes.

The normality of behavior is often regarded as quite un-

related to its morality. The man of outstanding honesty who turns down chances to get rich out of graft may be honored and admired. But he is more likely to be regarded as abnormal than the man who takes what he can get. Sometimes we feel that this normality rests primarily with the person. ("No normal person would do a thing like that." Or "You can't blame him. It's only natural.") Sometimes we regard it as in the situation. ("Under strain of combat, men do things which they would not do under more normal conditions.") Sometimes we think that it is both in the person and the situation. In defining normal sex conduct here, we shall use both the standards of general practice and demands of wholesome behavior which are generally recognized and accepted by the public. Normal sex conduct, then, may be either moral or immoral. We suggest the following standards of normality in heterosexual intercourse:

1. Heterosexual.
2. Voluntary. This would include some forms of prostitution, but not others.
3. Between persons who are physiologically mature in body as well as genital development. This rules out relations with undeveloped children, even if they are sexually potent.
4. Not incestuous, as this concept is defined by the culture.
5. Not primarily an expression of personality disturbances. People having mental disorders could have normal sex relationships, provided these disturbances were not a dominating factor, either in motivating the conduct or determining the choice of the sex partner.
6. Reasonably free from extreme and bizarre forms of behavior. Here we could have considerable differences of opinion. In case of argument, the way the public feels about it could be a simple and usable way of deciding.

Normal fornication can occur, as we have indicated, within the following relationships:

### *1. Pickups*

The pickup is like the prostitute in that she is willing to consort with a man whom she does not know, without being

much concerned with his character, his "intentions," or his connections. She is unlike the prostitute in that she is likely to turn down anyone if she doesn't like his looks. The relationship is also usually more prolonged and is likely to include dinner, shows, walks in the park, and other forms of mutual entertainment as well as sexual cohabitation. The payments are more largely in the form of food and entertainment.

## *2. Casual friends*

In this case the couple have met before, know each other's name, and, perhaps, something about the family, place of work, and similar superficial facts.

## *3. Good friends*

The couple have known each other for some time and have probably dated before they finally cohabit. They feel a strong friendship, if not affection, for each other.

## *4. Lovers*

The lovers may restrict their sexual relationships to each other, at least temporarily, or they may not. Prostitutes often have lovers to whom they give themselves as they do not to their ordinary customers. The non-prostitute may have several lovers and give sexual favors to other friends as well. But in any case, the lovers feel for each other an affection which lifts the relationship above the level of biological, sensual satisfaction. Their love imparts a quality and a value which is superior and unique.

## *5. Engaged couples*

In our culture, engaged couples supposedly are also lovers. They differ from other lovers in that they are definitely pledged to each other in marriage. Presumably they now restrict their relationships to each other, whatever they may have done in the past.

## RESULTS OF FORNICATION IN VARIOUS SITUATIONS

Let us now consider how the results of sexual intercourse would likely be affected by the variations in these situations and relationships.

*Physical Release for Men*

For men the sexual act would almost certainly result in physical release, whether conducted with pickups, friends, lovers, or fiancées.

*Physical Release for Women*

This would more likely depend upon factors other than the situation, such as the intensity of physical urges and the ease with which orgasm is attained. The existence of love in the relationship would tend to facilitate release. On the other hand, the pickup might have fewer psychological inhibitions and guilt feelings which could make release under other circumstances more difficult.

*Venereal Diseases*

It is now generally recognized, as Koch and Wilbur point out, that "Sexual promiscuity is the most vital factor in the spread of venereal diseases" (p. 517). (See also Kulcher and Ninnis.)

On the average the pickup would have had more sexual contact and, therefore, have been exposed to venereal infection, while the engaged couple might have had relationships only with each other. Although the danger of venereal infection would be by no means absent in any of these situations, we might expect it to diminish from pickups to friends to lovers to engaged couples.

*Pregnancies*

The likelihood of pregnancy would depend primarily upon the readiness of the woman to conceive and the effectiveness of any contraceptive devices which might be employed, not



upon whether the relationships were those of pickups, friends, lovers, or engaged couples.

The willingness on the part of the father to accept responsibility would vary considerably. For the pickup, any responsibility would be unlikely. If, as is probable, the pickup had relationships with a number of men before she discovered her pregnancy, she could hardly tell which one was the father. She might not even remember who some of them were, still less know where they could be found. On the other side, a man who seeks only a good time and physical release is unlikely to feel any responsibility for the girl or any baby who may result.

Friends are in a somewhat different situation. The girl is more likely to remember all the men with whom she had relations and know where they can be found. Friendship means a good chance that the girl was something more than a sexual object. Therefore, there is more probability that the boy would be willing to accept some responsibility for the outcome.

Love would increase such chances still further. The girl is likely to have had recent relationships with fewer, if any, other men. Therefore, the father can be more easily identified and located. What about the willingness of the man to assume responsibility? Better, but by no means certain. The man may be already married and have a family to support. Or he may be financially unable to do much. He may be psychologically "not the marrying kind," unable to settle down and accept permanent responsibilities. And even if he should be willing to marry, he may have personality limitations which unfit him to be a husband and father. Much will depend upon the kind of love which the couple feel toward each other. Some love is undeveloped and immature. People sometimes love because they want to be babied. The love may express some frustration, feeling of inferiority, resentment, or other personality disturbance. Even such love is not a fraud or a disguised form of sex desire. It may be very real and even basically non-sexual in its genesis. The existence of real love by no means guarantees that either or

both of the couple will or can accept responsibility for a pregnancy. But certainly the chances are far better than with pickups or friends.

Engaged couples presumably are lovers who intend to marry each other. Statistically, from a third to a half actually will not. The engagement period is properly a probation; a rigorous testing before the final decision. In one sense, engagements are made to be broken, provided they fail to stand the strain of the relationship. The situation of an engaged couple will vary with their maturity and the stage of their engagement. Sally Brown is an immature girl who has just promised to marry Bill Jones in some indefinite future. Their situation is quite different from that of Sally Jones and Bill Smith, matured, responsible people who have set the date of their wedding for next week, Thursday.

If the engagement is a really serious pledge of responsible people and the couple cohabit, there is rarely any problem in identifying and locating the father. Usually, too, the father will accept full responsibility and marry the girl. If they are not matured and responsible, the father may try to duck out. In any case, they may decide that the engagement was a mistake. If they break the engagement, the girl is left with all the damages of illegitimacy. If they would have broken the engagement but did not because of the pregnancy, the situation may be even worse. The pregnancy may push the couple into an unsuitable and undesirable marriage. If the couple would have married anyway, the result may be to hurry up the wedding before either of them is quite ready for it. What might have been one of the greatest and most meaningful experiences of life is hurried and blurred, like a beautiful picture smudged before the paint was quite dry. This last situation is not, however, likely to affect the care which the child will receive.

### *Psychological Results*

Any love which is there can be channeled through sexual intercourse. In the case of pickups and casual friends, love is unlikely, and you can't channel what isn't there. Other

feelings can be, and frequently are, channeled in any of the situations. As we saw with Mary Day, girls may become pickups because they feel frustrated, fearful, timid, unloved, and resentful. Their sexual intercourse can be a way of striking back at their parents or at men in general, or of expressing their fanatasies and hopes. Usually whatever is present in the personality can be channeled through sex behavior. The feelings are more likely to affect the choice of situation than the situation is likely to affect the nature of the feelings.

We have seen that in marriage, sex relationships can channel, feed, or even help love develop where it did not previously exist. What chance has this of happening outside marriage?

For the pickup, not much. Since love was not there to begin with, it can hardly be channeled. Nor will sex bring it forth. It takes time for love to develop. The relationships of the pickup are far too brief and transient to make this possible. Secondly, the attitudes of the couple toward each other are highly unfavorable. The girl who allows herself to be picked up and slept with by a stranger is not likely to regard him as a possible Prince Charming. She is more likely to be an immature child, reaching out greedily for such crumbs of entertainment, food, and other temporary satisfactions as she can get. So she comes easily to pass from one temporary episode to another which she soon ceases to expect will eventuate in anything permanent. To the man, the girl may be simply a tramp with whom he would not dream of becoming seriously involved. She is, for him, a means of temporary satisfaction—a kind of roller coaster which he enjoys for a time, but with which he certainly does not want to be stuck. There is just not enough to build on. The bride and groom of ancient China may have gone to bed as complete strangers. But, after all, they were married. They bore important and permanent economic and social relationships to each other, based upon cultural conditionings and reënforced by the expectations of both their families and community demands. Even the modern American couple who marry as relative strangers have a considerable amount of social sup-

port to keep them going until love has a chance to burgeon forth. The pickups have nothing but one or two biological relationships. Love will not take root in such shallow and shifting soil.

In sex relationships between friends, the chances are somewhat better. There is more to begin with. The relationships have more substance; the attitudes are more favorable. The girl is more likely to have hopes and feelings which center upon marriage, and which sexual intercourse may focus upon her sex partner. But if her chances of finding love are slightly better, so also are her risks the greater. The pickup, expecting little, is unlikely to become emotionally involved. The friend can begin to hope, then to expect, and finally to demand. Usually she is repulsed and then experiences the bitterness of frustration, heartache, and disillusionment.

For lovers, sexual intercourse may feed as well as channel love. The danger is that the unmarried lover may find that the love has so grown that there is no place to put all of it. The uncertainty of its continuance, the haunting fear that the relationship may be cut off just when she has come to need it most place an inevitable shadow over the entire relationship. And if these love feelings are interrupted they can, as we have seen, go into reverse with disastrous results.

If the lovers are engaged, the results will hinge upon whether or not the relationships eventuate in a desirable marriage. If they do, the couple has experienced nothing more than a risk from which they have emerged without serious damage. This risk presents two forms; the danger that if the engagement is broken the consequences will be unnecessarily severe and the greater danger that an engagement which ought to be broken will result in marriage.

We can feel real and intense love for others who, because of personality or character defects or basic differences in background and ideals, are unsuitable for marriage partners.<sup>2</sup> The testing of an engagement often brings such unsuitability to light. The breaking of an engagement can be

---

<sup>2</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion of this point, see my *Before You Marry*, Association Press, 1949, especially ch. 3, 7, and 8.



fairly easy, provided the social expectations are not too great and neither party feels too badly about it. But if one party wants to hang on, especially if she feels desperate for lack of other prospects, it can be plenty tough. If the couple has been consorting sexually, the increase in love and emotional involvements makes the separation that much more difficult and painful. The girl, especially, may find that a break which would have been hard to take in any case, has assumed the proportions of an emotional shock. And if the man is "honorable" . . . ? Some of the greatest tragedies in marriage have occurred because the man felt that his sex relationships with his fiancée put him under moral obligations to marry her regardless. In other instances it has been not the feeling of responsibility, but the intensity of the feelings they both felt which has caused the damage. A couple may refuse to break an engagement which they both know should be dropped, not merely from fear of hurting each other, but because their sex relationships have so increased their love that they are unwilling to let each other go. The increase in love which sex relationships before marriage may develop is among their more serious dangers.

### *Effects Upon Family Life and Its Supporting Social Codes*

In our culture the present code calls for continence before marriage, fidelity to one partner after, and a limited monogamy. Another marriage is permissible if the other has died or been legally divorced. It is easy to see the reason for fidelity after marriage, but why is continence before marriage regarded as important? Probably because some feel that if people could get all the sex they wanted outside marriage, many would not marry at all. Secondly, free sex indulgence before marriage would presumably increase the amount of adultery after marriage, partly because of the habits established, and partly because the unmarried would often consort with the married. Finally, any sexual intercourse outside of marriage presumably weakens the entire code. Are such allegations true? How does fornication affect family life and its supporting codes.

At first sight, the demands for continence might seem to be too feeble to do any good. Some 90 per cent of all men have sex relationships before marriage. Yet this fact does not prove that the code is without effect, any more than proving 90 per cent of our people sometimes get rained on proves that umbrellas and roofs are of no value. Most of those who violate the code would be much less restrained if the code were not there. The pressures of public opinion, the fears of detection, the standards of the churches and other groups to which they belong, and the all pervading influence of the middle classes combine to reduce considerably the amount of sexual indulgence outside of marriage. If these restraints disappeared, what would be the effects upon marriage and family life? We don't know, and we have little evidence except the experience of the Soviet Union. There, as we shall later indicate, the freedoms of the Twenties were so disastrous for family life that the restraints were quickly restored.

That the demand for premarital continence and post-marital fidelity mutually support each other seems beyond question. Certainly those who have moral scruples against fornication would have even greater scruples against adultery. Obviously, too, if there were less fornication there would be less temptation and opportunity for married persons to commit adultery with the unmarried. Finally, greater continence would give greater support to the entire code. As we have indicated, violations of the sex code are not always known to the general public, but they are always known to a part of the public. Boys hear of the sexual exploits of older young men and are thereby encouraged to follow their examples. Girls learn that the actual practice of the code is not what it is supposed to be, and their own will to resist the illicit advances of men becomes weakened. Every violation of the sex code, whether through adultery or fornication, undermines it by that much.

The various forms of fornication affect family life in different ways and to different degrees. If a pickup is married, his or her family life is presumably already in a bad way, and it is certainly not made any better by other relationships.

The girl who is sexually loose has less chance for getting a chance to establish a family of her own, especially if she becomes pregnant. With men and women, fornication is likely both to indicate and to increase an irresponsible attitude not favorable to future success in family living.

What about lovers? We need not repeat previous discussions of adulterous love. As to unmarried sexual lovers, we have often assumed that if eventually they married each other that made everything all right. But marriages cannot successfully rest solely, or even mainly, upon love. A marriage is good, only if both are qualified to assume its responsibilities and are reasonably suited to each other. Sex relationships that develop a love which lures people into an undesirable marriage are far more damaging (and hence more immoral) than those from which no marriage results. In any case, they involve a violation and consequent weakening of the social code.

In summary, sex relationships before marriage are harmful unless they eventuate in a desirable marriage. The possibilities for this among pickups are practically nil. Among friends the chances increase somewhat, but are still dim. They become higher among lovers, and highest, but still risky, with engaged lovers. As R. A. Lyman said, "Don't get married unless you want to start raising a family, and don't start raising a family unless you want to get married."<sup>3</sup>

These risks will largely depend, as we have seen, upon the standards of the group, the importance of reputation, and, to a considerable extent, social position and bank account. Those who are already at the lowest social level cannot sink any lower, no matter what their sex behavior may be, although they still risk being beaten up or sent to jail. If they wanted to rise in the social scale, their sex conduct, past as well as present, would then become of importance. We have already noted that a girl who is too "free" gets a bad reputa-

---

<sup>3</sup> For a good summary of the disadvantages of premarital intercourse, see Henry Bowman, *Marriage for Moderns*, pp. 219-232. For the opposite point of view, see Dr. Marynia Farnham's "Dating, Petting and the \$64 Question" in *Pageant*, January 1951.

tion which impairs her chances for jobs and social acceptability as well as marriage. A man will suffer much less. This difference is obviously not fair, but it is what it is. The sex relationships of unmarried lovers will usually harm reputation and acceptance less, but in some circles it can still be highly damaging. The sex relationships of engaged couples will usually be overlooked, especially if no pregnancy results and they eventually marry each other. If the engagement is broken, the girl has impaired her chances for marriage if her behavior is known, and the boy, to a less degree. In case of pregnancy, the harm to the girl and her future chances for marriage is still greater.

What about the financial costs? Johnny Smith, coming home from his discharge, spent the night in Chicago with a pickup. He awoke just in time to see his bed mate walking out of the room carrying his pants which held his cash. Ignoring conventions, he pursued her into the street clad only in his pajamas. He did recover the loot, but he also made the front page. Pickup girls may be the bait for a gang of jack rollers and clip joints. They may also act effectively on their own. Among "friends" this likelihood diminishes but by no means disappears. "Friendship" is often a device for milking others, as Dale Carnegie has so clearly pointed out. Among honest lovers, breach of promise suits and other forms of blackmail do not occur. But "lovers" are not always honest, as many wealthy men have discovered to their consternation and impoverishment. The risks of financial loss will depend upon the integrity of the sex partner and how much the victim has to be taken.

## THE PROBLEM OF OLDER UNMARRIED WOMEN

Our discussion so far has had in mind mainly the problems of the young unmarried. A group which merits special attention is the older unmarried women. For various reasons a sizeable group of women amounting to some 10 per cent will never marry. It may well be that sex relationships are better had within marriage. But what of those who, through



no fault of their own, must have their sex love outside of marriage or not at all? Take, for example, Susan Smith. Susan is an attractive, fine, sensitive person, once engaged to a boy who was killed in the war. She is now past thirty. She has the same physical hungers and longing for love as anyone else. It is becoming increasingly unlikely that she will ever have a chance to marry the kind of man who would be suitable for her. There are men, however, who are eager to assuage a part of her loneliness. Would not the half loaf of sex relationship be better than no love at all?

Before we shed tears, wax indignant, or otherwise prejudice the situation, let us bear certain facts in mind. To begin with, there will be a wide variation in the intensity of sex desire. For some women, sex desire will be so intense that continence would be a real deprivation. For others, as with many married women, sex relations would bring no particular satisfactions or, possibly, aversion. We can, of course, by a propaganda campaign convince large numbers of women that the absence of sexual intercourse from their lives is an intolerable strain. But apart from such synthetic urgings, continence would not be a serious deprivation for many women.

A second question concerns the nature of any sexual drive which is felt. As we saw in Chapters 4 and 5, sex desire is not a simple biological urge. It is a means whereby feelings of frustration and inferiority are channeled and can be a means for the expression of love, hate, and a variety of motives. Women who are single because of a lack of opportunity for suitable marriage often feel a sense of frustration which may express itself in libidinal forms. Yet illicit relations are a questionable form of triumph. Almost any woman who will make herself available can have a man in bed with her. The self-prescribed therapy of illicit sex is seriously to be questioned.

We still have to consider the older unmarried woman who desires sexual relations and has no qualms about securing them through friends, more or less carefully chosen. In addition to the usual physical risks which may not lightly be

disregarded, we shall here raise two questions. The first concerns the emotional involvement which we have already considered. For many women, the "affair" would prove temporary and partial in love as well as in time. It can easily arouse more hungers than it can feed. A thirsty man adrift on the ocean is sorely tempted to drink of the water which so abundantly surrounds him. The harm of so doing is that his thirst becomes even more intense. Illicit sex, likewise, may increase psychological thirsts. Can Susan Smith indulge without the fear of discovery, feelings of guilt, or dread lest the relationship be broken off just when she has come to need it most? Can a woman haunted by such fears give herself fully to the sexual embrace? She can "go the limit" physically, outside of marriage. Can she "go the limit" emotionally outside the security of a sound and permanent marriage relationship. For some people, "All or nothing at all" is profound wisdom in sex relationships.

The above is primarily a question for Susan Smith herself. Society, too, has some concerns. These relate to Susan's potential sexual partners. If Susan has satisfying sexual relationships, she must have them with men; presumably men whom she finds attractive and toward whom she feels some affection. On the sheer law of chance alone, most of the men with whom she will want to consort will be married. If society gives a permissiveness for older unmarried women which means anything, it must also give permissiveness for adultery to the married men who are their potential sexual partners. And once you grant the legitimacy of Susan's needs, you cannot logically stop there. Many married women will be unhappy with their husbands or more passionate than the potency of their husbands can satisfy or married to men who are away much of the time. What about their rights to sexual satisfaction? A married woman deprived of what she has been used to can often make a far better case than one who has never had regular satisfaction. And will the husbands so involved look upon their activities as a form of charity? Will they not, rather, consort with the women who are most attractive to them, whether married or single,

"needy," or merely "sexy?" And what of the wives of these men? Can you rightly demand of them what you do not expect of their husbands?

It all seemed so simple until it was examined. We rightly felt sympathetic toward a large group of fine women who, through no fault of their own, lacked legitimate heterosexual outlets for their hungers. It seemed so little to grant a social permissiveness for sexual satisfactions. But this permissiveness, when examined, proves to be the removal of all restrictions upon adultery. And if we allow adultery we can hardly object to fornication. It is not our purpose at this point to discuss whether or not we should abolish all social restrictions upon voluntary sex conduct. It is my purpose to point out that if you grant permissiveness to your older unmarried women, this is exactly what you are doing.



So what does all this add up to? First of all, that sex hungers and their forms of expression are not funny. Neither is sexual irresponsibility. The major problem of sex morals is the adjustment of sex desire to personal and social welfare. Because sex desire among men is the most intense, and because the outlets of marriage are not available, many assume that the most acute sex problems are those of unmarried youth. Many who are adamant in their opposition to adultery feel lenient and permissive toward fornication.

Fornication makes the satisfactions of sexual intercourse available to a very large group to whom they would otherwise be closed. Its other results are generally harmful. These results will vary widely, depending in part on whether the relationships are with pickups, friends, lovers, or engaged couples. Yet all forms involve serious risks. Dr. Barringer bases her opposition to making prophylactic materials readily available (as through slot machines) on the grounds that this would increase promiscuity. The net result would, therefore, be to increase, rather than to diminish, the spread of venereal diseases (pp. 85, 86). Some of these risks, especially the dangers of emotional involvement and of being lured into

an otherwise undesirable marriage, are greater with lovers than with pickups. The best we can say is that some forms of fornication are more likely to be harmful in some ways than others. The main moral issues of fornication can be summarized as follows:

1. All fornication, like all heterosexual intercourse, is in an entirely different moral category from sex behavior which does not involve intercourse. Problems of health, providing for children, and maintaining sound family life emerge as they do not in mere "petting," however heavy, masturbation, or other forms of sexual excitation which do not involve the contact of sex organs.
2. Current practices tell us little about their desirability. Nazism was a greater evil after "everybody" had accepted it than it had been before. The amount of suffering and tragedy in this world clearly indicates that what is commonly practiced is often very wrong. If a sex code is sound, it is sound whether anybody observes it or not.
3. Legality is important. Modern civilization rests in part upon a structure of law. Laws are less important than other considerations and may even be evil. But they are important. Legal demands for marriage and similar provisions have a proper and necessary place in any sound sex code.
4. Sex relationships are moral, only if the couple are able and willing to assume full responsibility for any pregnancies which may occur. The rights of an unborn child include the protection and security of the legal marriage of parents who can provide, not only money, but love, care, and guidance.
5. Moral sex conduct must provide full opportunity for the expression and fulfillment of its emotional involvements.

Sexual intercourse is likely to touch off powerful pent-up emotions. If the couple is married, such feelings have a place to go and a job to do. Without marriage, such possibilities



are at best conjectural and at worst severely frustrating and traumatic. The difference between marriage and no marriage can be the difference between keeping water in a functioning system of pipes and mains and allowing it to leak all over the place and flood whatever it can overwhelm. Sexual behavior is morally responsible only when it provides adequate opportunities for the expression and fulfillment of the feelings it may touch off.

We still have not solved the problem of what to do about the sailors on Mr. Roberts' ship and the countless other young men who are at the peak of their sexual intensity without legitimate heterosexual outlets. We recognize, to begin with, that they will probably do what they will do, without much regard for what we say, even if we could prove it scientifically. Being able to prove what alcohol does to the body doesn't keep millions from drinking to harmful excess. Proving that gambling is a vicious racket doesn't keep people from throwing away money they need for basic necessities. People will not pay any more attention to what we can prove about their sex conduct than they do in other areas of life. But we still don't have to call damaging sex behavior good or even harmless and funny.

Neither do we have to call harmless conduct sinful. We have rightly changed our code to permit normal sex interests and to make more possible the enjoyment of sex relationships within marriage. We should also remove guilt feelings about forms of relief which do not involve other persons or result in harm to anyone.

But controls are necessary in all areas of life. We should get over the notion that in sex they are intolerable impositions. The boys on Mr. Roberts' ship were in a war which demanded enormous sacrifices. If international issues are of sufficient importance to justify demanding that people pay huge taxes and even, in some cases, sacrifice their lives, surely it is not too much to demand restraints which may be necessary to safeguard public health and sound family living. Fornication is justifiable only if it does individuals and society more good than harm. It is not justifiable merely be-

cause it requires distressing, though not particularly harmful, restraints. The demand for premarital chastity is merely part of the larger demand that sex conduct should be responsible.

## 10.

### Abnormal Types of Fornication

---

AT THIS POINT we must make a distinction between morality and normality. For example, when Stud Poe finds that Bill Cane has cheated him out of a life's savings with marked cards, he kills Bill. What Stud has done is immoral, but it is not abnormal. Under similar circumstances, most men would want to do the same thing, even if they did not. But if Stud shoots down a complete stranger who has done nothing to him, his behavior is both immoral and abnormal. The concept of morality refers to the results of conduct. The concept of normality refers to the situation. So far we have discussed fornication as it occurs under more normal situations. We do not thereby imply that it is moral; only that the situations are more common. We shall now turn to a consideration of the morality of fornication under more unusual and abnormal situations.

#### INCEST

I once had a woman student who was an enthusiastic breeder of dogs. I confess that I was a bit shocked when she told of breeding her prize dog to his own mother. She assured me of what was undoubtedly true, that neither dog was aware of any relationship. Aversion to incest is apparently limited to humans. Among humans, incest taboos of some kind are almost universal, although they express a wide

variety of forms and demands. Sometimes a person is not permitted to marry, have sex relations, hug, kiss, or dance with any member of his own tribe. The marriage part of it is called exogamy. Some Chinese groups may not marry anyone with even the same last name. Among other groups the taboos are far less extensive and rigid. The Bible says that Abraham was married to his half sister. The story of Ammon and Tamar shows that in King David's time, half brothers and sisters might marry. In our culture the incest taboos have sometimes included the marriage of cousins, uncles, aunts, and even the widow of a deceased brother. By incest, here, we mean only the sex relationships between brother and sister or parent and child.

Since the issue of incest arises at several points in the book, let us take a little longer look at it. In Chapter 5 we maintained that the physical expressions of affection between parents and children are usually non-sexual in essence. The overwhelming majority in our culture not only observe incest taboos, but accept them psychologically. A few in the very lowest stratum of society or some who have serious personality abnormalities do practice incest. For most, the very desire for incest is so weak that it does not have to be repressed into the subconscious.

We must recognize, however, the heavy weight of authority on the other side. An integral part of the Freudian position is the theory of the Oedipus complex.<sup>1</sup> This claims that sons naturally and usually feel sexually attracted to their mothers and are sexually jealous of their fathers. The Electra complex states a similar position regarding the attraction of fathers and daughters. These desires are said to be not rare, but general and powerful. Conflicting taboos require that they be repressed into the subconscious. The following is offered as evidence:

---

<sup>1</sup> This is presented in Sigmund Freud's *Outline of Psychoanalysis*, ch. vii. For the Electra complex see his *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, ch. v, op. cit. See also Geza Roheim, "The Oedipus Complex and Infantile Sexuality."



1. There is no biological basis for aversion to incest. Sex attraction is simply sex attraction and is not at all affected by the incidence of blood relationship.
2. Where strong incest taboos do not exist, incest is commonly practiced, even among the lowest classes in our own culture. Therefore, any restraints are due to the taboos, not to a lack of sexual interest. And wherever strong taboos conflict with strong desires, you have repression into the subconscious.
3. There is considerable evidence that incestuous feelings are common among all groups, including those which are "respectable." In the movie version of *The Barretts of Wimpole Street*, Mr. Barrett is portrayed as having strong incestuous feelings toward his daughter Elizabeth. The claim is that these are common and normal, rather than abnormal and rare.

Now let us take a look at these arguments. The first argument is true, but beside the point. The aversion to incest is unquestionably something we learn, not something with which we are born. Take the case of a brother and sister, adopted while still in infancy and brought up in entirely different families. If they meet for the first time as young people, they will feel quite as much sex attraction for each other as if they were entirely unrelated, especially if they do not know that they are "really" brother and sister. On the other hand, families will sometimes adopt a boy and a girl from different families and bring them up together as brother and sister. They feel the same aversion to incest as they would if their biological parents were the same. The lack of sex appeal and aversion to incest is learned as a result of living together as members of the same family. Even husbands and wives often tend to become less sexually appealing to each other than are outsiders.

Yet things are not less natural and real because they are learned. There is certainly no biological reason why the people in France should speak French and the people in Denmark should speak Danish. But it is as natural for them

to do so as if it were inborn. Nor is their failure to speak other languages an evidence of repression. If people do not wrestle each other, there is always the possibility that they really would like to, but their desire has been repressed by powerful constricting taboos. It is also possible that they really are not especially attracted by the activity.

The second argument is misleading. To begin with, it is easy to greatly overestimate the amount of incest among the lowest classes. Incest there may be more common, but it is by no means as prevalent as some would have us suppose. Sloane and Karpinski found a very real aversion to incest among the lower classes. Furthermore, the taboos themselves indicate real differences in desire. Taboos are by no means something outside of the desires of men which are forced upon them against their wishes. Taboos may be strong because they are in harmony with the subconscious wishes of most developed persons.

The evidence that incest taboos are in harmony with underlying desires is overwhelming. When taboos conflict with subconscious wishes, they are most rigidly observed by those who are most repressed. As people become more intelligent, objective, and matured they ignore the taboos. With the incest taboos, however, the opposite is true. It is the unhappy, distorted personalities who are most likely to have incestuous desires, while the happy, well-adjusted people are least likely to desire or to practice it.

The other evidence lies in the realm of guilt. When taboos conflict with basic desires, the resulting conflict generates a considerable amount of heat which appears in the form of guilt. These feelings would likely express themselves, as they did when the general area of sex was taboo, in restrictions upon discussion. These restrictions would, in turn, result in the cynicism of the undercover "dirty story" on the one hand and compensatory, uncompromising denunciations of incest on the other. In the matter of incest, neither of these reactions is prominent. Why not? Because the guilt feelings simply are not there. And where we do not have the heat of guilt, we do not have the fires of repression.

Further evidence is found in the absence of social sanctions. If the incest taboos were not accepted psychologically, society would erect numerous behavior taboos as means for their enforcement. Such taboos do not exist. Fathers can live with daughters, mothers with sons, and brothers with sisters without any form of chaperonage or any penalties such as loss of reputation or suspicion that they cohabit sexually. Any extensive violation of the incest taboos or even repressed desires to violate them would make such a situation impossible. All the evidence points to one conclusion. In our culture, normal people do not regard their fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, or siblings as sex objects. Incest taboos have the support not only of moral conviction, but also of inner subconscious feelings. Like the taboos against cannibalism, incest taboos are generally supported and observed. Incest indicates an abnormality of either the individual or his subgroup.

The moral justification for incest taboos is easily stated. Members of the same family are inevitably so accessible to each other that any kind of community chaperonage is impossible. The utter dependence of children means that any parents who chose to do so could exploit them sexually with little possibility for effective protection. Unless our incest taboos were psychologically accepted without serious repressions, family life and social life in general would speedily become impossible on any civilized level.

Incest aversion has also a real significance for racial survival. When men fixate their sexual love upon their mothers (as sometimes happens) women who are at their most fertile period are neglected. Even when adultery with the mother is abhorrent the man is still likely to regard his mother as his "sweetheart" and never marry. Or if he does marry he is apt to neglect his family. Neither situation is conducive to the survival of the race or to the giving to one's own children the love, attention, and support they need for their best growth. Sibling and father-daughter relationships would not have the objection of infertility. But even biologically they might result in a harmful inbreeding.

The psychological and social effects of incest depend upon the situations under which it occurs and the attitudes of those who practice it. Among sub-groups who lack development and status, incest usually indicates that the abnormality lies with the group. The individuals who indulge may be normal in the sense that they are well adjusted to the demands and expectations of their group. They feel no shame or guilt, nor do they lose reputation or suffer other social penalties. (The same is true of cannibalism when it is practiced as a normal part of tribal living.) The moral problem lies primarily, not with the individual, but with the standards of his group.

Incest among respectable groups in our culture usually presents a serious situation. The incest may be symptomatic of a more basic difficulty. Thus a man commits adultery with his mother because he was seriously warped and damaged as a child. His childhood affections became fixated and persist as sexual expressions. Presumably the mother also is distorted. Otherwise she would not have so seriously damaged her son or accepted his sexual approaches. In such cases the major problem lies not with the incest itself, but with the distortions which it expresses.

When the incest involves an approach to a daughter by her father, the consequences may be quite different. In such cases, only the father may be distorted. The daughter may be quite normal. As Sloane and Karpinski found, the shock of such experiences can be extremely serious, resulting in traumas and extreme neuroses. The girl so damaged may project her experiences by "taking it out" on others; minority groups or men in general. Thus the harm done by the father can come seriously to affect a number of innocent people.

From the standpoint of society, incest is not a serious problem because it is so rare. For the individual who is involved, it can be extremely serious, either because of the distortions of personality which it expresses, or the damage it causes to others. Maybe we have given it too much space. The attention given indicates its complexities, rather than its importance.



## RELATIONS WITH CHILDREN

Although the affection expressed by normal parents for their children is basically non-sexual, that of many adults is not. Children are often sexually attractive to adults. Whatever else may also be present, the fondling, petting, and kissing to which they are subjected often includes an important sexual component. This last may not be enough to present a serious moral problem. Or again, it may. The adult may go out of his way to expose his genitals to children. He may manually stimulate their genitals or attempt actual sex relationships. In the Athenian culture certain forms of this were permissible. Even Socrates is said to have had his boy. In our culture, such sex behavior frequently eventuates in extreme forms of sadism. The child who is raped may also be severely beaten, murdered, and brutally dismembered.

Do children themselves desire and derive satisfactions from sex relationships with adults? In that they develop sexually and are aware of such development through erections, emissions, and other physical sensations, all children do have sex lives, as Moll pointed out many years ago. They observe the behavior of both animals and human adults and are subjected to the approvals, disapprovals, and demands of adults. Thereby they become increasingly oriented to the sexual behavior and demands of their culture. The child early learns that his parents sleep together, and before long plenty of people will tell him what this means. If he engages with members of the opposite sex in mutually disrobing experiences, he may find out still more about both his own sex nature and the prominence which the area of sex occupies in adult thinking.

Do prepubescent children feel sex desire for their parents? This is highly doubtful. Young children often express the desire to marry and have children by the parent of the opposite sex. But this usually indicates a confused response to cultural demands. They early get the idea that they will be expected to marry and have children. They feel that any such situation calls for an adult. The only adult they know

well, love, and trust completely may be the parent. So he (or she) is elected. Later it may be the teacher or a beloved uncle or aunt. Certainly sex relationships in the adult sense are ordinarily impossible for prepubescent children, especially boys. The tendency to read adult meanings into children's interests is more than questionable.

The same principle holds true regarding the probable effects of "sexual" experiences upon children. A girl of three was lured into an alley by a man who exposed himself to her. Her only feeling as she related the incident was a resentment that she had not yet received the piece of candy promised. She was much more stirred by the sight of a neighbor's cat "eating" (washing) itself. As Bender and Blau have pointed out, sexual approaches of adults to children too young to have absorbed the attitudes and standards of the culture caused no permanent psychological injury unless the child was also brutally treated. A nine-year-old boy may easily regard the sexual approach of a man somewhat in the same category as the approach of his mother with a soapy wash cloth in her hand; an annoying, but not particularly traumatic, experience.

Yet sex relations with children do involve peculiar and especially serious moral problems. Children are relatively unable to make sound moral judgments, to know what they are getting into, or to defend themselves from exploitation or attack. Therefore, we rightly regard sexual approaches to children as far more serious than those made to adults. There is real justification for "age of consent" laws. We need, however, to expand our concept to include mental, as well as physical, children. A woman well past her twenties may have only the intelligence of a nine-year-old child. She has also what nine-year-old children rarely have, the capacity to conceive and bear a child for which she is incapable of providing.

A second moral problem is involved in our attitude toward those who approach or molest children. A personality disturbance by no means relieves an individual from all moral responsibility for his acts. Yet the existence of a mental quirk

does call for a different attitude toward the perpetrators of offenses. Sound morality calls for a sound social policy for the protection of children. This would include provisions whereby those likely to commit offenses against children are spotted in advance and given such treatment and/or such supervision or restraint as their condition and the protection of the public may seem to require.

#### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OLDER AND MUCH YOUNGER PERSONS

Here is a problem to which far too little attention has been given.<sup>2</sup> The problem is much more common than is generally recognized. Usually the relationship is between older men and younger women, but the reverse is sometimes true. Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* was inducted into his first sex experience by Faith Paleologus, a woman old enough to be his mother. The local paper carries an account of a thirty-five-year-old woman who ran away with a seventeen-year-old boy. According to the Kinsey studies, this is about the age at which the sex desires of men and women are most evenly matched. But since the older person is usually the man, we shall discuss the problems from that angle.

We well know why older men should be attracted to younger women. But why should younger women find men who are paunchy, gray, and baldish more attractive than the more vigorous and physically superior men of their own ages (apart from understandable financial reasons)? Yet they often do. A recent survey revealed that a group of top stage and screen lovers were forty-five, forty-eight, fifty, and fifty-seven years old. There are two main reasons for this situation. Older men, despite their physical limitations, usually have greater confidence and poise. They have been around more and often have a status and prominence which their younger rivals cannot match. A second reason is sometimes

---

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to the excellent discussion by my wife Evelyn Duvall in her *Facts of Life and Love* (ch. xiii) for much of the material here presented.

to be found in what we shall technically call the heterosexual shift. We shall discuss this more at length.

Although not primarily sexual, the first love of many a girl is her father as the first love of a boy is his mother. The normal growth of a girl in our culture calls for the shifting of this interest from her father to some other member of the opposite sex with whom marriage is feasible. This shift usually takes place by slow stages. The first men to whom a girl shifts her interests are likely to be similar to her father in both age and other apparent characteristics. Many girls find that, compared to their fathers, younger men are dull, uninteresting, and immature. In the normal process of development, the girl learns in time to become interested in men more nearly her own age and usually ends up by marrying one of them. But while they are going through this shift, girls may find the older men they know, such as their high school or college teachers or the boss in the office, far more alluring than men from their own age group. If, added to this situation, the girl suffers from some distortion of personality, her desire for some older man to whom she has become attached may become compulsive. She may not only be willing to break up his home but also insist that he divorce his wife (who does not "understand" him) and be willing to throw away her whole future in order to gain her ends.

The older men may be impelled by far more than the greater physical appeal of the younger woman. Middle age is a period of declining physical powers; a situation often hard to take. It may bring considerable disillusionment. Many young men expect to accomplish big things. If they occupy an inferior position they can feel that they will soon be at the top. The middle-aged man in an inferior position usually has no such hope to sustain him. He often comes to the realization that he has risen as high as he ever will; that he is a man of just ordinary abilities who simply does not have what it takes to fulfill his dreams. In the bitterness of his disillusionment he is likely to turn for comfort to someone still young enough to be impressed by what he has (or



claims to have) accomplished. For him, the starry-eyed girl still seeking a father image is a "natural."

Thus it may come to pass that these two—the disillusioned man looking for someone who will comfort him and whom he can impress and the girl eager to be an adult and easily impressed—may come together.

The moral soundness of such a relationship is not difficult to evaluate. In many instances the older man is a disappointed, petulant, and somewhat unscrupulous little boy who still wants to nurse his happiness from others. His sexual desires may be almost compulsive, like the behavior of the alcoholic. The girl, likewise, may be a love hungry, distorted, frustrated child, eager to be lifted into an adult position which she is far too immature to win. Both of them see themselves and the other in terms of fictitious wishes which neither has the capacity to fulfill. The result of most such affinities is the break-up of homes; the loss of reputation, job, and, often, money; and the heartbreak of even worse disillusionment.

Most attractive girls will at some time be approached sexually by older men, sometimes one whom they least suspect. It may be an adored high school teacher, an eminent and respected college professor, a school principal, a civic leader, or some one else who has the trust and confidence of the community. The woman may be anyone from a blossoming high school student to a relatively mature married woman. I hope that these comments will not make any woman suspicious of every man who makes friendly overtures. Young women ought to have worthy friendships with older men and most of these men will be interested, but honorable in behavior. A few, however, will not, and you can never be sure just who these will turn out to be. Young men face less probability of such "propositioning" from older women, yet it occasionally does happen.

How should a woman feel toward a man who thus approaches her? The shock of discovering that a trusted man is not what we had supposed can easily result in cynical generalizations about the man in particular or men in general.

It is fairly easy to see that we ought not to judge all men by the actions of one, or a few. It is less easy to see that the man himself ought not to be so judged. Yet morality is specific. Thus the married man who "propositions" a younger woman may have high and worthy standards of conduct in other respects. Conversely, the man who would not dream of straying from the straight and narrow, sexually, may be unscrupulous in other respects. Care in avoiding generalizations is the first consideration. A second is an attitude of kindly understanding. The girl need not swallow the "line" about his being "mistreated" and "misunderstood." But if she can see her "propositioner" as a petulant child or a fearful, frustrated person seeking comfort and security, it will be of double advantage. She will be less harsh in her judgments and less likely to assume that sleeping with him will cure personality disorders which may call for extensive technical therapy. It is not up to the girl to "psychoanalyze" the man. But an awareness of such difficulties should help her to understand the absurdity and danger of yielding and show her the way to refuse kindly, thus avoiding unnecessary humiliation to a man who may already be seriously disturbed.

This problem is one, not only for the women who are approached, but for the older men who are the potential approachers. The older man should know, first of all, that he will quite naturally be attracted to young women, not only as sexual objects, but often as persons. In many instances, basically ethical and respectable men have got themselves involved without premeditated intent just because they were unaware of their own feelings and temptations. Every man should walk through life with the awareness that "It could happen to me." The man who understands and accepts his feelings toward attractive women is more likely to be able to avoid situations which can be immensely costly in terms of reputation, keeping one's position, and self-respect. Yet in some cases, the moral problem is quite a different kind of problem.

"Why am I poison to Professor Parker?" Ida Nunn asked. Ida had good reason to be puzzled. Almost everyone at

State University, men and women, faculty, and students, liked this happy, extroverted senior. She was as friendly as a puppy and did not hesitate to pat even sedate faculty members on the head or shoulders. Usually they liked it. But not Professor Parker. She never patted him, and when she came to his office to consult him about a paper, she had only smiled at him. He responded by being cold, distant, and almost openly insulting. She thought that she must have done something wrong and consulted Professor Wells, another faculty member, for help.

Professor Wells grinned in his cute, boyish way as he heard her story. "You are an unusually attractive young woman."

"Thanks, but so what?"

"You are a biology major, and still I have to spell it out for you. All right, I will. Professor Parker finds you alluring and attractive as all of us do. He is of the 'old school.' If he did not have strict ideals, he would probably make passes at you; you know, the I-miss-my-daughter routine. But he has strict ideals. So what he is really saying in his 'insults' is 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'"

Older men and women both desire and need the friendships and points of view of younger people of both sexes. Because of the sex appeal often present, however, older men who have ideals find themselves unable to treat attractive young women as persons. Either they make passes, or they adopt a brusque, falsely jocular, harsh, or even insulting attitude when they really are not like that at all. Moral sex conduct demands that older men understand and accept their own natural feelings without shame or guilt. Not the incapacity to be tempted, but the control of conduct so as to avoid harm to self and others; this is the essence of moral behavior.

\* \* \*

Fornication presents forms which, for our culture, are rightly regarded as abnormalities, either of the situation or of the persons involved. Among these is incest. The weight of Freudian authority which supports the normality of incest,

resulted in our giving to the problem an attention which it would not otherwise merit. Our position is that in our culture, normal people in normal situations do not regard their parents, children, or siblings as sex objects. The incest taboo is commonly observed and supported, largely because there is so little desire to violate it. It is indispensable, both for the proper protection of children from sexual exploitation, and for the preservation of sound family life.

Children are often sexually attractive and are, therefore, frequently approached sexually. The harm which sexual relationships do has, at some points, been exaggerated, but, at other points, the risks and damages are serious. Therefore, society rightly makes all sex relationships with children taboo. The best way to protect children is not, however, a savage and sadistic punishment of the offender. It is, rather, to establish a policy for the detection of potential offenders to be followed with such supervision and restraints as may be essential.

A special problem is that of the relationships of older and much younger persons. In most instances, the older person is the man. Sound social policy requires that younger women should be made aware of such potential situations and taught to handle them adequately. Older men, also, should become aware of their dangers and responsibilities. Both older men and younger women need to know how to handle, enjoy, and be enriched by friendships which are sexually tinged, without allowing them to be spoiled by involvements and behavior which are harmful or dangerous.



# 11.

## The Challenge of Prostitution

---

USUALLY THERE was plenty of room in the church, but not that Sunday. A full hour before the beginning of the service people began to pour in, and soon the ushers found difficulty in finding space for the people. This was before the day of loud speakers. Finally, the ushers could do nothing more than open the doors and allow those who still crowded the church steps to hear what they could. The occasion was not the wedding or the funeral of a celebrity, but a report. The minister was an active member of the vice commission, and that Sunday he was to tell what the commission had found about conditions in the city.

Unquestionably the prostitution interests who were threatened had representatives at this service. But the majority who came to that church, many for the first time, were the sincerely "moral." For the most part, the congregation was those who were moral in their conduct; who did not see the obscene plays, or read "immoral" books; who strove to keep even their thoughts "pure." And on this occasion all of them had to make the most of such legitimate outlets for a sex interest so severely repressed. At that time people might not recognize sex relationships within marriage, or even the existence of pregnancy until after birth had actually occurred. But prostitution—here was something different. Pure men and women were not only permitted, but morally obligated to be concerned with the moral conditions of their communi-

ties. And so discussions of prostitution acted as a vent; an outlet to release the repressed sex interests of the "pure." The catharsis which resulted may have been crude or even damaging, but it was certainly an eagerly sought and welcome release.

Thirty years ago, prostitution was of greater interest than it now is, not only to the general public but to sociologists as well. Until recently, it had been studied more extensively and thoroughly than any other form of sex behavior. Why? Partly because it gave research people, also, a permissible outlet for an otherwise repressed interest. Partly because it is more specific and definite, and, hence, easier to study than other forms of sex behavior. It is difficult to get at the sex relationships of the married, for example. But houses of prostitution are more easily located. Prostitutes and, often, the number of their contacts and the money paid them can be more readily estimated and put into statistics. Connections with the underworld and the police can often be identified and put into reports.

But this is not all. People have been and are concerned about prostitution because important social values are at stake. Kinsey says that prostitution accounts for only a small proportion of total sexual "outlets." He, therefore, finds this public concern to be "amazing" (p. 605). Significance, however, is rarely a matter of sheer quantity. Out of all the bullets shot off in this country, only a small proportion find their "outlets" in people (deer hunting season excepted). Yet it is usually only this slight fraction which is of concern to the police. In sex, the far more numerous "outlets" of nocturnal emission and masturbation may be largely ignored because they don't spread disease, result in illegitimate babies, or involve other people. Private fornication and adultery present more serious problems. But not even these are organized into underworld rackets which demoralize the police and help to keep corrupt political machines in power. It is not the interest, but the relative lack of public interest, in prostitution which should be amazing and regrettable.

For despite occasional avid interest, careful studies of

prostitution have been distressingly limited and inadequate. We have had some good studies of conditions in this place or that. But it has been hard to get an over-all view or even too adequate a basic understanding. Therefore, the decline of research in this area is to be especially deplored. The last really comprehensive study of the subject was made by Flexner, nearly forty years ago, and the last extensive survey of American conditions by Woolston, nearly thirty years ago. There are understandable reasons for this situation. To a generation which has gone through two world wars and a major economic depression and is now going through the possibility of atomic destruction, prostitution does not seem so important as it once did. With the world in such a turmoil, a comprehensive survey would not be so simple as it was in the relatively stable days before 1914. Furthermore, it is now psychologically possible for our sex interests to take a broader scope (as the Kinsey studies illustrate).

— Another reason for this decline in interest is the feeling that prostitution is no longer a serious problem. The general argument runs somewhat as follows: In the older code, sex relationships outside of marriage were in practice, permitted to most men. They were not permitted for respectable women, who comprised the vast majority. Therefore, prostitution became inevitable as a means of satisfying the men.

Today, however, a large number of respectable women do permit extramarital sex relationships. Since men can now get their sex relationships more cheaply and satisfactorily otherwise, prostitution is on the way out. Gladys Hall stated in 1936 that "professional prostitutes are losing custom and decreasing in numbers while amateur promiscuity is increasing" (p. 173). Kimball Young, in a one-thousand-page book, *Sociology*, barely mentions prostitution, explaining that "Today the whole system of commercialized prostitution seems to be disappearing from Western society, as traditional taboos on prenuptial and extramarital cohabitation disappear" (p. 410).

All this sounds reasonable, but is it factual? Apparently prostitution has declined considerably. As many men as ever

(about 69 per cent) patronize prostitutes at some time or other, but they go less frequently. (See Kinsey, pp. 603 ff.) But prostitution is still a serious social problem, and the assumption that it will cease to be so is quite unwarranted. On the contrary, we may have a situation similar to that which we experienced with radio. When radio first appeared, the sale of phonograph records took a nose dive, and it looked as if the business were headed for oblivion. In time the situation adjusted itself, and phonograph records made a tremendous comeback. The same thing may well happen with prostitution. Once the novelty has worn off, the obvious advantages of consorting with prostitutes may become evident. As with a record, you can have what you want when you want it. You don't have to worry about getting her pregnant, or having her fall in love and want to marry you. The following case illustrates what may remain as an important basis for the support of prostitution.

Mert Matthews was not a "wolf" type. He was a somewhat timid teacher in a suburban high school, and his situation was not too uncommon. He wanted to marry, and there seemed no good reason why he shouldn't. He was respectable, had a good job, and was steady and reliable. Several girls would gladly have accepted him. He was blocked by something within himself. For some reason he could not bring himself to accept the responsibilities of married life. He would pursue a girl eagerly, but as soon as she gave signs of accepting him, he would back away. Only a psychiatrist could find out why. For our purposes here, we do not need to know.

At a teacher's conference, Mert met a home economics teacher who had a nice apartment in a nearby city. They became fond of each other. Before long, she invited him to spend the night with her any time. He began to do so, and at first he appeared nearly every week-end. You ought to be able to follow it from here on in. The girl became emotionally involved (fell in love) with him. If he failed to appear some week-end, she would call him up. Was he ill? Didn't he love her any more? Was there anything she had done, or



could do? Once he used a slight cold as an excuse. She took the first train out to his place and had him in bed with a mustard plaster on his chest before he knew what was happening. The more possessive she became, the more frantically he wanted out. His timidity made it worse. Finally he was goaded into telling her that he would rather not see her again. She left without recriminations, but with such "soulful pain in her eyes" that he was upset for weeks. From now on, his sex was going to be on a strictly cash basis.

Many men, for various reasons, find prostitution the most satisfactory and convenient form of extramarital sex relations. Hi Smith was interested in airplane design and little else. He simply did not want to spend the time and effort it would take to cultivate a girl friend to the point where he might approach her sexually. He would rather buy his physical relief when he wanted it. Stan Hart was a crack accountant who loved his work, but he just couldn't stand people (because he feared them), and they couldn't stand him. He had no social skills. Because of powerful emotional blockages within himself, he could never get well acquainted enough with any girl to make marriage, or even sex relationships a possibility. Other men belong to unacceptable minority groups, or are physically repulsive, or have serious crudities and other limitations which make them personally unacceptable to any girl whom they might wish to marry or cohabit with on a "friendly" basis. They can get sex, only by paying for it. Even "normal" men may prefer the simplicity of prostitution. They may be embarrassed about approaching their friends or fear a loss of reputation or scandal which this might involve. The married man who finds his wife indisposed or merely wants variety, may not want to break up his own, or anybody else's, home. Therefore, he consorts only with women who will not even know his name and to whom he is only one of many who come and go. Or a man may be in a strange city where he does not know any woman whom he can approach. We do not imply in citing these instances any moral justification for the conduct of such men. We seek merely to indicate reasons

why prostitution will continue to enjoy considerable patronage and support.

Prostitution, then, remains with us as a serious social and moral problem. As such we should give it serious attention. One of the first things which we can say about its morality is the moral obligation of social scientists to do far more extensive and serious research work in the field than they have so far done. Correlated with this is the moral obligation of foundations and other sources of funds to provide the money necessary for such research and of the public to give it whole-hearted and sympathetic support. So far we have precious little scientific knowledge to help us in determining the vital questions of morality.

This chapter is not a sociological treatise on prostitution. We are not attempting to give a well-rounded presentation of the current situation or of its causes and "cures."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, much material relevant to a more general statement will be omitted. Our concern is with morals; how prostitution affects people. Yet we can hardly evaluate its results unless we know something about it, including the various forms in which it appears. So let us now at least walk around our subject, and see how it looks from different angles.

To begin with, prostitution is an ancient and very widespread profession. It existed among the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Chinese. Frequent references to it are found in the Old Testament. In the story of the fall of Jericho, special note is made of the assistance given by Rahab, the harlot. As a reward for her aid, she and her household were spared from an otherwise general destruction. (Josh. 6:22-25.) No question is anywhere raised about the acceptability of her profession. Often it was connected with religious worship and encouraged. Solon attempted to regulate it, apparently not too successfully. During what was probably the most important church council of the Middle Ages, that at Constance, hundreds of

---

<sup>1</sup> For more general discussions, see May and Reckless. References in this chapter to Reckless are, unless otherwise indicated, to his "Prostitution in the United States" in Fishbein and Burgess, *Successful Marriage*.

prostitutes swarmed into the city to service the delegates and their numerous retainers. Prostitution has apparently always been prominent in all well-developed cultures of all ages.

## FORMS OF PROSTITUTION

We usually think of prostitution in terms of the full-time professional who operates indiscriminately for money. This may be the most common, but it is by no means the only form. Various authorities suggest different categories, depending on their concerns. We shall here follow a simple classification; coercive, occasional, and professional or commercialized prostitution.

### *Coercive Prostitution*

A few decades ago people in this country were much agitated about the white slave traffic. Large numbers of girls were supposedly either abducted by force, or lured by false promises into "dens of vice" and forced to receive the men who were sent in to them until no other life was possible. But according to Dr. Reckless, one of our best authorities, there is little white slavery in this country (p. 434) and prostitutes have never developed into a caste (p. 438). Another kind of coercion, by no means absent in this country, is blackmail. You all know the old melodrama in which the villain threatened to expose the heroine's brother or husband unless—. This is a caricature, but a caricature of real situations. Women, like other people, often get in situations which would be highly damaging if exposed. Betty Conn was present at a fraternity party at which there was a lot of drinking, debauchery, and a brawl which resulted in the death of a student. It caused a nation-wide scandal. The fraternity was suspended, and all students present at the party were promptly expelled from school in disgrace. Betty escaped through the back door, but Matt Snead saw her leave. He now demands sexual favors as a price for his silence. Mrs. Painter is also vulnerable. When she was younger she be-

came involved in a serious scandal. One man knows and demands blackmail payments in the form of sex. Mrs. Painter is convinced that if her husband ever discovers her past, he will promptly divorce her; and she wants terribly to remain his wife.

The morality of coercive prostitution is essentially similar to that of any form of coercion. The girl who is physically forced into prostitution presumably has no choice. Therefore, her conduct is not subject to moral judgment. The morality of those who do the forcing is in a different category. To force or take advantage of the helplessness of another is not merely to force them into prostitution. It is often to distort the entire personality and to corrupt the way they feel toward, and about, life. It is to distort also the whole system of social relationships. If a girl is, or is known to have been, a prostitute, the whole attitude of other people toward her and their treatment of her become profoundly altered. The damage done may be far greater than if the body was broken and left crippled and maimed. The morality of blackmail coercion is essentially like that of any form of blackmail. The blackmailer is guilty of a particularly vicious and cruel form of robbery. For the victim it is an understandable but usually futile form of weakness. Most blackmailers are never satisfied, never let up. If Mrs. Painter yields to her blackmailer, he will have even more to hold over her. It is difficult to see, too, how she could keep others from finding out about the adultery. Those who yield only put acid on a burn and make a bad situation infinitely worse.

### *Occasional Prostitution* <sup>2</sup>

The occasional prostitute is the rat who tries to sneak out some of the financial cheese without getting caught in the trap of disgrace. She wants the advantages of respectability and, at the same time, she wants to cash in on some of the profits of sex sales. Usually she has a regular job or a home where she lives as wife or daughter. She does not depend

---

<sup>2</sup> The "call girl" may be an occasional prostitute, operating in whole or in part "on her own," or a member of a highly organized "syndicate."



upon prostitution for her living, but sells herself sexually to get "extras." The transactions may be in cash, with a definite amount of money demanded and paid, or in the form of "gifts." These gifts may vary from a free meal and lodging at a cheap hotel, to diamond bracelets, fur coats, and de luxe apartments. They may be given in the form of entertainment; dates, shows, and night clubs. They may be special favors; a promotion, increase in salary, or political support, perhaps for the husband. Those who can pose as booking agents or talent scouts can often get moonstruck girls to give themselves for chances to try out for stage or screen.

The occasional prostitute often deals only with a few selected patrons. She may be the paid mistress of one man only, as in the "Baby-Sugar Daddy" relationship, or of a small group of men, no one of whom could afford her. Her relationship with any one person may be limited to a single experience, or she may become the "kept woman" of some man over a period of years. But if she feels a special need for a certain amount of money, she may on occasion offer herself freely to all takers.

Occasional prostitution is essentially fornication or adultery, modified by some form of payment. Since we have already considered the results and, hence, the morality of these, we need here consider only how payment affects such results. Physical release for men and the chances of conception would not likely be affected by money payments. The spermatozoa that swim toward and batter at the ovum are apparently little affected by the profit motive. What about physical release for women? Certainly not impossible. Many people love the work for which they are highly paid. A woman of a highly passionate nature may exult in her activity and find exquisite release. Her very zest may increase the economic value of her services. Or she may be tremendously fond of the man even though, like the ticket seller at a movie house, she would not let him in unless he paid. But certainly she would be much more likely to love him and to experience the release which love promotes, if she gave herself to him voluntarily. Venereal diseases depend upon whether

either of the parties is already infected, and this, in turn, depends largely upon the number of persons with whom one has relations. The occasional prostitute would usually have had far less exposure than the professional, more than the voluntary "friend" and very much more than the monogamous husband or wife. The health hazards would vary accordingly.

What about the channeling of feelings? Negatively, commercial relations can be quite as effective as the voluntary, and sometimes more so. The man who has projected his hatred for his mother upon the female sex, may take an almost savage delight in "raping" prostitutes. The fact that he pays them may increase his feeling that he is humiliating them and, hence, increase his own satisfactions. Prostitution may also help at the point of selection. A man might not be able to find among the friends who would accept him sexually anyone who looks or acts like the hated mother. He would more likely be able to find among prostitutes some "right one" upon whom he could vent his displaced resentments. The prostitute, too, might be expressing negative feelings. A girl who "hates" men may take a sadistic delight in making them "pay" for her favors, not only in money but in the venereal diseases with which she is infecting them.

Positive feelings could be channeled through paid relationships. As Sherif and Cantril point out (p. 388) real affection sometimes does exist between prostitutes and some of their patrons. Prostitutes are often love starved and sometimes respond with pathetic eagerness to men who treat them with courtesy and respect. In most prostitution, however, it is a matter of physical release in return for a money transaction between complete strangers, neither of whom cares at all for the other. The whole nature of the relationship makes for "emotional indifference." So it is also with a release of hopes. In our culture, young people grow up dreaming of a relationship in which love freely given is dominant. Sometimes they are not even concerned enough to worry about grocery bills. The merely biological relationship with one toward whom you have no special feeling, bought

and paid for like a box of Kleenex, is completely alien to the dream hopes of our culture. Most people can get more sentimental over a banana split.

How will occasional prostitution affect family life and its supporting codes? Any sex relationships outside of marriage weaken both. The financial costs of occasional prostitution may be high, much higher than those of commercial prostitution. Since the man is less anonymous, he is more subject to blackmail and all which it entails. But any prostitution usually has one advantage over other forms of adultery. The paid woman is less likely to become emotionally involved with the man and insist that he break up his family and marry her. Commercialized prostitution threatens family life the least, occasional prostitution next least, and adultery, involving genuine affection and love, most of the three. At other points, such as venereal infection, the extent of risk is the reverse.

### *Commercialized Prostitution*

Most studies and surveys of prostitution and most efforts at repression have been concerned with its commercialized forms. Perhaps this is because it is more "get-at-able." Maybe the occasional prostitute who operates on her own is actually a greater menace because she works under cover. But commercialized prostitution is commonly regarded as the major problem. So let us take a look at it.

Commercialized prostitution is like occasional prostitution in that it involves money payments and is promiscuous (sometimes within limits). It is also similar inasmuch as feelings of affection rarely enter into the relationship. It differs from occasional prostitution in being a full-time vocation of women who make little pretense of respectability but know and accept the social risks and penalties of their profession. Most important, it is often highly organized with prominent "in's" with the underworld, the political machine, and, sometimes, with banks and other legitimate agencies. It is this organization which makes it of such crucial public concern.

Why do women become prostitutes? At one time, moral-

ists usually gave a simple answer. Some women were "naturally" degraded. Some were forced or seduced into it. Otherwise, women entered prostitution for just one reason—to avoid starvation. It is easy to see why people believed this so readily. Women did not have sex desires, so what other reason could there be? Moralists felt, too, that everybody regarded sex with the same horror that they did. Therefore, only the threat of actual starvation would be enough to push a respectable girl over the brink. This economic explanation of prostitution was eagerly seized upon by social radicals who wanted to discredit the economic system. The horror of prostitution was, in many instances, a powerful leverage to pry people away from their allegiance to an economic system in which such awful conditions were inevitable.

The economic explanation of prostitution contains much truth. A very large proportion of women have little direct sex desire until they have become "awakened" by a considerable amount of sex experience. Furthermore, in the older situation in this country, the emotional blockages of most women to sexual intercourse were truly tremendous. In many instances, starvation itself has not been enough to break it down. Finally, rates of pay have often been shockingly low. In periods of unemployment it was inevitable that girls without families to help would be under tremendous pressure to yield, and not a few would actually do so. Immediately after World War II, many women of Europe were so destitute that they would freely offer themselves for almost anything; a bar of chocolate, a pair of hose, or a package of cigarettes. Some have claimed that the best index to the economic and employment situation in any country is the number of prostitutes.

Yet only a small proportion of prostitutes are forced into their vocations by economic necessity. Our most careful student of the subject, Flexner, estimated that at the time of his study, only 2 per cent entered prostitution from economic necessity (p. 83. See also Woolston, p. 281). He did recognize that fluctuations in economic conditions might profoundly affect this proportion (pp. 85 ff). Since Flexner's



study we have had two world wars and a severe economic depression which have undoubtedly greatly increased this proportion. But however great such pressures may become, they will not eliminate other causes. On the whole, economic necessity is a real, but usually minor, reason for entering prostitution.

In considering other causes, remember that many girls feel no special emotional blockages to sex. To many it appears as an interesting adventure which they would like to explore. If, in addition, they learn to enjoy the relationship, their behavior easily merges into prostitution. Financial gain adds to the attractiveness, just as a sportsman is delighted to discover that the meat, fish, and furs he brings home help with the budget. There is sometimes also the reward of prestige. Lower class girls often feel highly flattered that members of the "nobility" find them attractive. Prostitution may catapult those who would otherwise be "nobodies" into positions of great prominence and power. In some instances, the rule of kingdoms has been their reward. And let us not overlook those poorly understood motivations which make people do such strange things. Flexner says that from half to 90 per cent of the prostitutes whom he investigated were supporting lovers or pimps (p. 96). Reckless declares that such situations are now rare (p. 436). The explanations of such bizarre motivations and relationships we shall leave to others. Let us remind ourselves again that regarding personal behavior we know a few things about a few things. Explanations of prostitution, like those of other forms of behavior, often remain in the dark and still unexplored recesses of human personality.

Among the explanations which we do know, the economic ones seem paramount. At this point we must clearly distinguish economic *necessity* from economic *allure*. The cheese may entice the rat, but this is not the same as being forced into the trap. Many girls enter prostitution for the same reason that many men buy fake oil stocks; not because they have to, but because they think that they can make a lot of money. They enter prostitution, not because they *need*

bread, but because they *want* cake, pie, and ice cream, not to speak of mink coats and swanky apartments. To those who don't know any better, the financial rewards of prostitution often seem to be enormous. It seems that a girl can get several times as much as she can in any legitimate vocation, and with far less work and effort.

There are several "catches" in this assumption. A top-flight prostitute can undoubtedly "clean up," just as a top-flight author or movie star can. But most girls just would not attain any such heights. The ordinary girl would get a surprisingly small amount per contact and would have to do a "volume business" to get any considerable amount of money. Furthermore she can get her "top rate," only for those few years when she is at the peak of her attractiveness. Before long she finds, like the grocer with stale bread, that she must cut her price greatly in order to meet fresher competition. Finally, she will often be robbed of most of her "take." The girls of a "house" must pay several times the current rate for room and board. Their clothing and other needs are supplied through the "madam," for which they are charged several prices. For a few years a girl may gross several times as much as she could in any other job. Her net will be less. Most prostitutes would net more from respectable vocations. (Flexner, p. 37. Woolston, p. 67.)

Disappointment regarding the financial rewards plus the short time which prostitutes are able to command top prices partly accounts for the heavy turnover in the profession. Many of us gained the impression that once a woman entered prostitution, she continued in it as long as she lived. Not so. "Even among professional women," says Woolston, "there is a rapid shifting in and out of the business" (pp. 37, 43. See Flexner, pp. 20 ff.). Quickly they find that their work is less profitable and more irksome than they had supposed and shift to respectable vocations. Some of them marry and establish themselves as legitimate and respectable wives. In Rosamond Marshall's novel, *Kitty* started out as a prostitute and ended up as the Duchess of Malminster, wife of one of the richest lords of the realm. This possibility

is less fantastic than we might suppose. In the sixth century the prostitute Theodora married Justinian, most noted of all the Emperors of the Eastern Empire, and exerted a powerful influence upon affairs of state.

This rapid turnover may account for another popular fallacy—that the life of a prostitute is very short. We used to be told that it averaged only five or six years. It is undoubtedly true that the vocational life of a prostitute, like that of a professional baseball player, is relatively short. In some instances their actual death rate is somewhat higher than that for women of corresponding ages. But this difference is usually not significant. (Flexner, pp. 21-23.) Although prostitution is not often profitable to the prostitutes, it is often enormously profitable to those who operate the business. In some few instances, houses of prostitution attain levels of sumptuous magnificence.



Despite the passing of some of these sumptuous places and some evident decline, prostitution remains a serious social problem to which real attention should be given. If it is permitted, it will continue to flourish because it offers to many men a simpler, more convenient, and, in some respects, less risky form of physical relief than do ordinary fornication and adultery. It can also channel negative feelings effectively, but positive ones only rarely. There is some coercive and considerable occasional prostitution, but its major form is commercial. Women are rarely forced into prostitution by economic necessity, but are frequently drawn into it by economic allure. Partly because the expected financial rewards are disappointing to the prostitutes, there is a heavy turnover in the profession. The big profits go to the operators of the business, who have on occasion established luxurious houses and frequently are highly organized. Commercialized prostitution presents many problems of high moral significance which we shall now consider.

## 12.

### The Morality of Prostitution

---

THE MORALITY of commercialized prostitution concerns us all, personally, intimately, and inescapably. If we are men we must decide whether we will personally patronize prostitutes. And whether we be men or women, we must inevitably be concerned with it as citizens. From a social standpoint, is prostitution desirable or undesirable? If it is undesirable, what is the best way to handle it? Would it be better, as some claim, to establish a legal red light district where it could be segregated and regulated? Or should we seek to suppress it completely? Shall we give support to a political machine which is tied in hand and glove with the prostitution racket? In what way can the "system" be effectively opposed? These decisions we make by our conduct, our votes, and by that part of public opinion which we influence and which we are, whether in the living room or the Pullman car. Even our silence and our inaction affect public policy. Let us look first at the morality of commercialized prostitution itself and then consider how it should most effectively be handled.

#### THE DEFENSE OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution seems to be a kind of Robin Hood; officially condemned by the authorities, but enjoying extensive support from the populace. Verbally, everyone is against it. Or,



at least, few dare to speak in its defense. More conservative moralists attack it for obvious reasons. Advocates of free love are often even more violent in their denunciation of it. Love which is free must not be sullied by payments or corrupted by coercion. If it were free, they claim, prostitution with its sordid relationships, political corruption, and social evils would largely disappear. Even those who want prostitutes licensed by the state are careful to explain that they really oppose prostitution. But since you can't get rid of it, the best thing is to regulate it and thus reduce its evils. We shall discuss this contention later.

Interestingly enough, the nearest approach to a verbal defense is to be found in the code of the past. This code demanded strict morality from respectable women. But in practice, most men were expected to "sow their wild oats." But with whom could they sow them? If the virtue of respectable womanhood was to be preserved, there was only one thing to do. This was to provide a special group of non-respectable women with whom men could cohabit. However much it may have been condemned, prostitution was an integral and inevitable part of the moral code as actually practiced by our fathers.

Today, also, the main defense of prostitution is in conduct. All behavior talks. The conduct of some people says, "We believe in prostitution because it is economically profitable or politically advantageous to us." Others say in their conduct, "We believe in prostitution because it offers to us a variety of readily available sexual opportunities at a minimum of preliminary effort and after involvement." But these defenses are all on selfish, personal grounds. Does anyone defend prostitution as good for society?

One such defense which is logical, comprehensive, and well-developed is that by Dr. Norman Haire of London. In the *International Journal of Sexology* for May, 1948 (then called *Marriage Hygiene*), he has an article, "Prostitution, Abolition, Tolerance or Regulation." In the issue of February, 1949, he replies to his critics. This discussion is significant for two reasons. First, it is one of the best defenses of

prostitution in print. (Guyon's discussions are muddled by his plans for rather complete social reorganization.) Secondly, it smokes out the half-way measure boys. Many who want freer sex relationships for unmarried youth still avow their undying opposition to prostitution.

"Nonsense," says Dr. Haire, in effect. "Once we break away from the older demand for premarital chastity, prostitution becomes a logical and very necessary part of the newer situation, and should be accepted and defended as such."

I present his argument here in some detail, partly in order that those who are pushing for a relaxation of standards can see more of what they are really advocating. The following outline summary is taken from Dr. Haire's two discussions mentioned above. Some of his points have already been discussed in other connections, but are retained to preserve the essential unity of his position.

### *Summary of Dr. Haire's Argument*

- I. For potent adults, "regular satisfaction of the sexual appetite" is a "primary human right."
- II. Prostitution is essential if we are to provide everyone with all the sexual opportunities which are rightfully theirs.
  - A. Marriage alone does not fulfill the sexual needs of large numbers of adult men and women.

Many adults are not married at all.

Sexual satisfactions with the spouse are not always available, even to the married. The spouse may be ill, absent, or indisposed.

Married people should have more variety than fidelity to one person provides. "No harm is done to one marital partner through the other partner having sexual intercourse elsewhere" (provided there is no venereal infection).

- B. Fornication and adultery would help much but are still not adequate to meet the sexual needs of all.

Some people are personally too unattractive to be able to win sexual partners without payment.

Some people, because of emotional blockages or lack of skill or inclination, lack the ability to make successful sexual approaches, sufficient to satisfy their needs.

Some are unwilling to spend the time which such courtship would involve. They want, and have a right, to have their sexual needs satisfied without having to take off hours, or even days, to woo sexual partners.

Therefore, for many, "a paid sexual partner may be the only relief available."

III. The usual objections to commercialized prostitution are either fictitious or invalid.

- A. Some prostitutes are filthy and feeble-minded, but so also are some wives. The solution is to regulate prostitution so that it will be clean and sanitary.
- B. Some prostitutes are diseased, but these are usually the unregulated amateurs. Where prostitution is properly regulated, disease can be held to around 2 per cent.
- C. Girls are rarely "forced" into prostitution for economic reasons. Usually they enter the profession from deliberate choice, either because they have personality disturbances, are over-sexed, or because they prefer the higher income and better and easier working conditions. "I have had many prostitutes as patients. Many of them . . . are combining business with pleasure." Prostitution does not necessarily involve exploitation, any more than any other business.
- D. Prostitution cannot be abolished. Since it does have real social implications, however, it should be carefully regulated. If it were made both legal and moral, the evils which are sometimes associated with it could be reduced to a minimum.

This concludes the summary of Dr. Haire's argument. What are we going to say, not only about Dr. Haire's challenge, but about the far more serious "arguments" which people make through their behavior? It used to be enough to appeal to some theological and/or social demand, and on this basis to declare that prostitution is wrong and ought not to be tolerated. Rightly or wrongly, such appeals are no

longer effective, and let me tell you a secret. They never were. Many people, out of loyalty to their church or other moral standards, are ready to condemn prostitution vigorously and sincerely. Yet some of them actually patronize prostitutes, and many more vigorously support political groups who are tied in with it. If we really want to make headway against this problem, some other basis is necessary. Moral standards will be effective, only if they rest upon demonstrably valid evidence. Prostitution is no exception.

Rather than attempt to "refute" Dr. Haire's position or to present a counter argument, we shall examine the facts, and let them carry their own arguments and their own refutations. One of the simplest and most obvious problems is that of health.

#### PROSTITUTION AND HEALTH

It was quite evident that Professor Forde who was addressing a meeting on family relations had read Kinsey. At least, he had swallowed a part of the study; there might be some questions about the completeness of the digestion process. He had been especially impressed about the part which deals with the age at which sex desire among males is at its peak. As he warmed up to his subject he became quite contemptuous in his attitude toward sexual restrictions for high school boys. He fairly wept over the social demand that these boys restrict their "outlets" to nocturnal emissions and masturbation. He had all the fervor of the old evangelist, denouncing sin and weeping over those bound for hell.

The next week I participated in a meeting of the Health Department of the State of Illinois. What a difference there was in the attitude of the medics! These boys were right up against it. They were the ones expected to clean up the physical messes and hold the dykes against the flood of venereal diseases which always threaten the health of any state. Here was frustration, often combined with grim, serious, and heroic determination. But not flippancy or contempt. There was no weeping over demands for a moderate amount of



self-control for vital social reasons. Let's make those who plead for a more lax code responsible for the health results which come from following their recommendations!

What proportion of prostitutes are infected? It is hard to tell. Both Flexner (ch. vii) and Woolston (p. 180) found that the disease rate among prostitutes would run up to 75 per cent, with an incidence of infection which was menacingly high. Dr. Belfield declared in 1914 that "every prostitute, public or private, acquires venereal diseases sooner or later" (J. Social Hyg., 1914, 1:539). He quotes studies showing that 90 per cent to 97 per cent of prostitutes were infected, with an estimated average of 60 per cent (pp. 541, 544). Since these studies were made, there have been great advances in venereal prophylaxis and cure. As to present rates of venereal infection of prostitutes, we have no adequate statistics. In studies reported in the *Journal of Social Hygiene* of 1936 (vol. 22, pp. 403-411) 90 per cent of the segregated prostitutes examined were infected, including those who had medical certificates. But if we lack somewhat in statistics, we have plenty of other evidence, all of which adds up to the same conclusion. In some instances, more than thirty cases of infection have been traced to one prostitute. The magnitude of the problem of venereal infection, the difficulties of making progress against it despite great medical advances, and the experiences of those who are in the thick of the fray, testify eloquently and irrefutably to the serious health results of prostitution.

## PROSTITUTION AND DEMORALIZATION

Research evidence suggests that it is the girl who is already demoralized by bad family background, by previous and usually illicit sex experience, and by examples and pressures from friends and relatives who enters prostitution. In prostitution this becomes compounded. As Reckless says, "The tendency is for most prostitutes to drift downward and to succumb to the forces of demoralization" (p. 234). The defenders of prostitution say that such degradation results

only because of public attitude. If we accepted prostitution as respectable, this demoralization would not result. This sounds nice. Let us examine it a bit.

In any society organized on a family basis, as ours is, the prostitute is a competitor of and menace to the wife, sexually, and to the whole family, financially. In union parlance, she is a "scab." Rightly or wrongly, union members don't like "scabs." The possibility that their attitude might demoralize the "scab" seems to have little significance. The suggestion is that the same persons as members of families need not feel like human beings. Here is a wife who has just been infected by her husband with a disease which he contracted from a prostitute. So we say to her, "Tut tut, now. Don't do or say anything which might make the group which infected you and your husband feel that they are not socially acceptable. Otherwise you make them feel inferior and demoralized."

Or, take the economic aspects of the problem. Few families have an economic surplus which can be spent on prostitutes without loss. Here is a daughter who wants terribly to go to the senior prom. But it requires a formal which the family now cannot afford because the father has spent the money for prostitution. The idea is that the daughter ought to have no feelings of resentment against the situation which has deprived her of what, at the time, she may want more than anything else in the world. If the family is on an even lower economic level, the deprivation may involve the very necessities of life. So the members of the family sit calmly by and don't do anything, or even feel any way which would damage the reputation of those who have robbed them. Or is it the prostitutes who should sense the anger and resentments of their victims, without themselves feeling guilty, humiliated, or ashamed? Actually, this whole line of reasoning is arrant nonsense. Inasmuch as they are intelligent, people will resent those who threaten their values, and those resented will feel the results of social rejection.

In the second place, only a society too primitive or too degraded to care about spiritual values could accept prosti-

tution without penalties. Among developed cultures, heterosexual intercourse is associated with love. And if you do value love in this sense, you just cannot accept selling its physical expression to anybody who will pay for it, as not degrading. Any group which vandalizes or scandalizes important values, whether these be of art, music, or sex, will come out with a poor reputation. Unless our Western culture becomes far more demoralized than it is, prostitution will continue to be regarded as degrading, and the prostitute as degraded.

#### PROSTITUTION AND POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CORRUPTION

Undoubtedly many prostitutes operate on their own, or with only limited contacts for referable services. But some forms, especially the brothels, are highly organized as big business with prominent political, financial, and social connections. Locally, the brothel, according to Reckless (p. 224) is often associated with "pickpocketing, shoplifting, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, drug addiction, illegal sale of liquor, organized crime, political corruption, and pandering." (See also Flexner, p. 192.) It is so corrupt that those who operate it filch from the prostitutes most of their earnings. (Flexner, p. 37. Woolston, p. 67.) As we have seen, many prostitutes net less than they could in legitimate vocations.

Because prostitution is corrupt, it is also corrupting. Here is a point rarely mentioned by those who defend or pooh-pooh it. The numerous exposés of political corruption in American life made by men like Steffens and his fellow "muckrakers" and the politically earth-shaking investigations headed by men like Lexow, Seabury, Thomas Dewey, and Kefauver are a sorry commentary upon American social morality. And running through all these, sometimes as a minor scarlet threat, sometimes as the backbone of vicious corruption, is the physically, socially, and politically infecting cesspool of commercialized prostitution.

Finally, prostitution results in shameless exploitation. In

this country white slavery may be negligible. In other parts of the globe it is not. The Commission on the Traffic in Women and Children of the League of Nations declared in 1927 that "the existence of licensed houses is undoubtedly an incentive to traffic, both national and international." Five years later it said, "The principal factor in the promotion of international traffic in the East is the brothel."<sup>1</sup> It is ridiculous to pretend that commercialized prostitution is anything other than what it actually is—a type of socio-sexual cannibalism.

Few people have ever been particularly concerned about morality in any area of life. Murder, robbery, and swindling, sometimes partly disguised and sometimes not, have been present among humans since the dawn of history. Those who want to consort with prostitutes will not refrain from doing so because it does harm. But our purpose in this chapter is to evaluate prostitution morally. Some conclusions seem clear. Those who patronize prostitutes make an already serious health problem worse. They help create a situation which is inevitably degrading to the prostitute. They give support to an entire system, based upon theft and exploitation and highly organized at some points, which is socially and politically corrupting. Prostitution is not the only, or even the worst, social iniquity or personal sin. But if anything may be regarded as socially evil, commercialized prostitution must be included. If any act is a personal sin, the patronage of prostitutes is evil and immoral on almost every score.

So now what do we do? Proving prostitution evil does not prove that some particular policy—suppression, for example—will make things better. Some people think that it will do exactly the opposite. These people agree that prostitution is an evil in which no moral man should personally indulge. But they feel attempts to suppress it by the police will only drive it under cover and scatter it. The best thing is to have it out in the open, where you can watch it and regulate it. Therefore, every city should have a particular area, a red

---

<sup>1</sup> Reported in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*, vol. 21, p. 110.



light district, set aside for the purpose. All prostitutes must be licensed and may operate only within the restricted area. Every prostitute will be carefully taught how to guard against infection and must submit to regular health examinations. This would largely solve the health problem. And since prostitution would be legal, open, and aboveboard, there would be no need to corrupt the police.

This proposal sounds so reasonable, so sane, and, in a deeper sense, so moral. Why doesn't everyone (except those who object on supernatural grounds) rally to its support? What is the matter with this neat little scheme of regulation which sounds so nice?

The best answer to this question is to be found in Flexner for several reasons. First, his *Prostitution in Europe* is by far the most careful and comprehensive study of the subject which has ever been made. Secondly, it was made just before World War I, when the conditions were more favorable for regulation than they will ever be within any predictable period. The older moral standards were still generally accepted, at least within the English-speaking world, without serious challenge. The world had been free from the disrupting effects of any major war for over forty years. The economic system was, for most, still not threatened. Such revolutionary movements as were of significance sought only political changes, and did not seriously challenge the basic social order or its moral ideals. Third, his studies included those countries in which law and order were traditionally most respected and observed. A regulation which would not work in pre-World War I Germany, England, or Scandinavia would be pitiable in the United States or almost any present-day free country. His study might well have been called *Prostitution At Its Best*. Finally, he made the problem of regulation a major subject of inquiry. His study is, therefore, an important source of information and by far the most reliable. His conclusion is clear and unequivocal. Even under the most favorable circumstances, licensing and regulation have completely and utterly failed. The reasons which he cites may be paraphrased as follows:

*1. Regulation and licensing cannot be effectively enforced, even when sincerely and honestly administered.*

Those who paint pretty pictures of the glories of regulation tend to assume that most prostitutes, along with those who operate the "syndicate" are paragons of intelligence and virtue. They are eager to protect their customers from infection and to cooperate wholeheartedly with the police, or at least they would be if allowed legally to operate. This racket which Flexner found "everywhere purely mercenary, everywhere rapacious, everywhere perverse, diseased, sordid, vulgar" we could make noble, pure and clean, merely by making it all legal. What nonsense is this! Actually the vast majority of prostitutes do their best to escape and evade the restrictions of regulation. "Regulation" means a few licensed houses in which there may be some pretense of control. Most prostitution continues outside this, as unregulated as ever. Bascom Johnson reported that in 1939, 5000 Paris prostitutes were licensed and between 50,000 and 60,000 were operating without licenses. Regulation was a farce (pp. 211, 212). Different countries have tried all kinds of methods of licensing and regulation. All have failed.

*2. Regulation is a serious source of political corruption. We ought not to have to spell this one out to American readers.*

As soon as you start to regulate, the regulated want out, at least at certain points. You avoid the undesired regulations by the simple expedient of corrupting the authorities. In some cities of pre-war Europe this proved difficult to do. Corruption was limited to the occasional bribery of individual officials and never became an all-inclusive system. In others it became so extensive that effective enforcement was impossible. We need little imagination to see what would happen in the United States. "That abolition favors police honesty is the unanimous testimony of officials who have experimented with both systems." (Flexner, p. 340.)

3. *Such regulation was not only ineffective, even when the police were not seriously corrupted, but positively harmful.*

It was harmful because of an often shameful abuse of prostitutes by the police. Police need not be corrupt to be arbitrary or even sadistically inclined. The regulations which prostitutes were expected to observe were usually not written into law, but the law gave the police authority to make them. Consequently the prostitute lived under what we now call a police state. If she were suspected of violating police rules, she had no protection of even the elementary rights of legal trial in self-defense.

It was harmful in helping to spread the venereal diseases it was supposed to prevent. Patrons assumed that because the prostitutes were supposedly licensed and regulated by the police they were free from venereal infection. Actually, the examinations were a farce. In Paris, for example, Dr. Flexner found that the prostitutes were lined up for examination and given thirty seconds each. In other cities, examinations would take from one to five minutes. Often the physicians would examine girl after girl without washing their hands in between, thus actually spreading the infection. Such sloppy methods of procedure are by no means inevitable. But as yet there is no possibility for effective examination. To be effective the prostitute would have to be checked after each exposure, and it now takes about two weeks to get really reliable results. Prostitution could hardly operate successfully on any such basis.

Regulation and inspection could not be effective unless they included also all the customers. Just try to get away with this one! As the American Medical Association declared in a resolution passed June 12, 1942, "Medical inspection of prostitutes is untrustworthy and ineffective, gives a false sense of security, and fails to prevent the spread of infection."

Finally, registration is harmful to the prostitute because it makes it more difficult for her to leave her vocation. "It may be questioned whether a mature woman ought to be

permitted by society even voluntarily to brand herself a professional prostitute; there is no shadow of doubt that no modern society can afford to compel her to do so." (Flexner, p. 150.)

*4. Regulation and licensing make prostitutes more readily available, thus increasing venereal infection.*

Venereal infection is basically a problem in mathematics. Authorities generally agree with Koch and Wilbur that "sexual promiscuity is the most vital factor in the spread of venereal disease" (p. 517. See Flexner, p. 255). The more sexual contacts, the more infection. The fewer contacts, the less the infections. Undoubtedly a few men are like spawning salmon; they will go through any obstacles to satisfy their desires. Most men will not. The basic principles of merchandising operate in prostitution as they do everywhere else. Do food stores think that location and availability are a matter of indifference because those who want food will seek it out regardless? Every merchant knows that even one side of the street may have decided advantages. The location of a department in a store will significantly affect its sales.

So it is with prostitution. The more prominently the goods are displayed and the easier it is to get to them, the greater the patronage. The better known a brothel is and the more centrally located, the bigger will be its business. On the other hand, as Flexner points out, even a rainy night will sharply curtail its patronage (p. 255). As to the prostitute, if she is in a well-located and known brothel, she may be able to handle (and spread infection among) twenty to thirty men in a single night. But if she must go out into the street to seek her customers, all the time keeping a watchful eye out for the police, bring her quarry through dark alleys to some back street hideaway, she may be able to serve only one-fourth as many, and thus spread only one-fourth as much disease!

By making prostitution less accessible, suppression can and does sharply reduce the number of contacts and, hence, venereal infection. The Committee on the Traffic in Women



and Children had good grounds for opposing "licensing and registration in every form" (pp. 116, 117). The Navy Department knew what it was doing when it declared on January 13, 1949 that the repression of prostitution was essential to the control of venereal disease (p. 219). For, as Bascom Johnson says, "When brothels close, V.D. rates go down." In short, as Flexner long ago pointed out, "The weight of authority . . . unquestionably favors the view . . . that suppression . . . has operated in the public interest" (p. 340).

\* \* \*

If we accept the idea of morality at all, the immorality of prostitution is beyond dispute. It is damaging to health personally and socially demoralizing, and it is shamelessly exploitative in harmful ways. And the unanimous testimony of experience and research is that all forms of licensing and regulation are both futile and harmful. Its evils are most reduced by suppression. Yet suppression, also, is limited, somewhat as follows:

1. If the police are honest and have reasonable public support, they can suppress brothels fairly completely. Any brothels that the customers can find, the police can find also, and close them down. This much will help tremendously.
2. The police can reduce the activities of streetwalkers considerably. If they are vigilant they can identify and convict enough streetwalkers so that all will have to be careful and thus cut down the numbers of their contacts.
3. "Call girls" can more successfully avoid detection. But an alert and determined "vice squad" can put a real crimp in their activities.
4. Private and occasional prostitutes present far greater difficulties. An occasional offender may be caught and convicted. But police can hardly detect every girl who "entertains friends" in her apartment or prove in court that the favors granted were really sold for money.

Police action can reduce prostitution and its evils considerably, but police cannot suppress it completely any more than they can murder or robbery. The problem of any crime can be really solved, only by developing higher moral standards among the people. The elimination of prostitution requires a moral concern which will both prevent men from patronizing prostitutes and result in effective public support for sound policy.

This crucial need for moral character is being increasingly seen by authorities in the field. The Army recognized that "Continence is the most desirable and certain method." (See Anderson, p. 20.) In its order of January 13, 1949, the Navy took the same stand. As Dr. Newsholme declared, "Complete success . . . is to be achieved only by moral means." "Our main dependence must be . . . a higher ideal of life" (p. 532). Therefore, a major aim of social hygiene is, in the words of Dr. Bird, "to change human sexual behavior" (p. 9). He regards such a change as significantly related, not only to venereal infection, but also to alcoholism, neurosis, mental diseases, delinquency "and many other medical and social disorders" (p. 19). It is significant that the program proposed for 1944 included the achievement of a religious and socially moral outlook. (Reported by Koch and Wilbur, pp. 527, 528.)

We need have no illusions at this point. Many men have a basically selfish and immoral attitude toward sex, as they do toward other aspects of life. But many who now patronize or otherwise support prostitution would respond to appeals effectively presented. If our churches, schools, movies, newspapers, magazines, radio, and other agencies would unite in telling people what prostitution means in terms of health, exploitation, and social and political corruption and would appeal to them in that way, the results would be significant. Such a sensitizing of the public is one phase of what so far we have already attempted; sex education which is really significant.

## 13.

### The Morality of Pregnancy

---

I NOW SUSPECT that the people of our church some forty years ago were glad to have the Indigent family in our midst, for the Indigents were our opportunity for the exercise of Christian charity. Most of our church people were what would today be called "poor." But we were not poor like the Indigents. We lived in modest five- or six-room frame houses. The Indigents lived in a shack. We had nice clothes for parties and church. The Indigents had only ragged and unkempt cast-offs. We enjoyed a modest but adequate diet. The Indigents rarely ate well except around Thanksgiving and Christmas when others provided them with "baskets." We were proudly self-sustaining. The Indigents were not at all reluctant to accept any "charity" they could wrangle. Oh, yes! One other point. The Indigents had nine children. Our families rarely had half that number. And so when we collected money and food for "those less fortunate than we," we did not neglect "the needy in our own midst." And everybody in the church knew just who these were.

Our people were not sociologically oriented. Mr. Indigent never earned over \$400 a year (about half the average for our members). Yet nobody asked what right a man has to have a lot of children for whom he will never be able to provide. After all, the Indigents were properly married. They were members of our church in good standing, and around Thanksgiving, Christmas, and near the annual picnic, all the

Indigent children who were old enough attended Sunday School with punctual regularity. Anyway, babies were sent by the Lord (that's the way we children got it) and who might question where and to whom he bestowed his biological largess? In case of any deficiencies it was up to the Christians to make sure that everybody had enough to eat on Christmas. Later on, when we became tinged with radicalism, we could blame it on the "system."

G. B. Shaw was once asked if he believed in the Immaculate Conception. He replied that he regarded all conceptions as immaculate. Perhaps he was only trying to side step a tricky question. Perhaps he was stabbing at a theological doctrine which he didn't like. But whatever his intentions, conception is not a trivial incident to be dismissed with the wave of a witty remark. Sexual intercourse is a whole lot more than a form of entertainment which does good or harm to the sexual partners. The conceptions which result are what keep the human race going. The number and quality of these pregnancies are by far the most crucial moral issue of sexual behavior. A major concern of every society should be the morality of the conceptions. The primary consideration is the baby, both for its own sake and because through it the destiny and future of mankind is determined.

### THE RIGHTS OF BABIES

"All men . . . are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." We often include in these rights, only those which come after we are born. Some important rights must be provided for before conception. Marriage cannot make moral a conception in which they are violated. Here are some of these essential rights which no society has yet seriously attempted to protect.

#### *Sound Physical and Mental Heritage*

There is no way of guaranteeing this. Sound parents sometimes produce defective children and seriously defective parents may have normal children. We can only demand that



there be a reasonable prospect of normality. Where such reasonable prospect does not exist, conception is immoral.

We shall not here review the complicated problem of heredity. Those interested in delving further into the question are referred to Amram Scheinfeld's excellent summary, *You and Heredity*. Some major scientific conclusions regarding heredity as they relate to the morality of pregnancy are:

- A. Nothing learned or acquired after birth will be transmitted by physical heredity. The man who has lost an arm need have no fears that this defect will appear in his offspring.
- B. Many defects attributed to heredity are actually acquired after birth. This is especially true of character traits. The children of criminals are more likely to become criminals. But this indicates, not bad "blood" (genes) but bad home conditioning. Much "insanity" results from unfortunate childhood experiences, not from physical inheritance.
- C. Many inherited traits are not worth worrying about. The man who becomes bald early will probably transmit this "defect" to his sons. But this is hardly sufficient to justify denying him the moral right to become a father. So it is with numerous other inherited defects such as mirror writing and minor eye defects which can readily be corrected. Almost everyone will have slight limitations which they may pass on to their children through physical inheritance.
- D. Some defects are so serious, and the chances that certain people will pass them on are so great, that conception must be regarded as the violation of the right of all children to a sound physical and mental heritage, and hence, immoral. Among these defects we would certainly include types of insanity which seem well established as inherited, such as strong tendencies toward schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis. Mentality decidedly subnormal because of inherited defects, congenital deafness and blindness, and, probably, hemophilia should be included. About certain other conditions, such as epilepsy and some kinds of paralysis, there is still sufficient question so that they should not be included.

The above statements are not offered as a basis for legal restrictions, although they might properly be used as such.

Neither do we imply that persons having serious inherited defects ought not to marry. Sterilization can make possible a moral marriage in which there need be no restrictions upon sex relationships. Under some circumstances, those who have defects may properly adopt children, or if the defect is in the husband only, permit the artificial insemination of the wife. No adult has any rights which deny to children the right to be physically and mentally well-born.

### *Adequate Economic Support*

This problem is seriously complicated by confusion regarding the relative responsibilities of parents and other institutions, especially the state and the economic system, for the economic support of children. Poverty and destitution among children are eagerly seized upon by radicals as examples of the iniquities of capitalism. They imply that if the economic system were sound and just, all parents could properly support any number of children. This assumption is dangerous nonsense. Our society might, as some primitive societies do, assume complete economic responsibility for all children. Pregnancies would then make no economic demands upon the parents. Whatever its merits or demerits, such a situation would alter profoundly, if not abolish, our existing system of family organization. If we wish to liquidate families, we should do so deliberately as the result of a chosen and clearly understood social policy, and not slide gradually into so revolutionary a change as the corollary of economic dogma. We shall not argue this point further. At present the relative responsibilities of the family and of society for the economic support of children are somewhat as follows:

- A. Society, through the state, provides for all certain essential services. From some of these, such as police and fire protection, children benefit as members of the larger group. Some of them, especially free public education, are primarily for children. Education may include some food in the form of free lunches.
- B. Some families, because of unusual and presumably acci-

dental misfortunes such as the premature death of the wage earner, receive special subsidies in such forms as mothers' pensions and aid to dependent children. Excessive medical expenses are recognized by many as proper occasions for state aid.

- C. Peculiar conditions beyond the control of otherwise economically responsible families may require limited forms of state aid in such forms as public housing aids.
- D. Parents can properly be held responsible for the economic support of their families, only if the economic system through which they must secure their livings is reasonably stable and sound. During the Great Depression millions of able and responsible parents could not support their families properly because of conditions entirely beyond their control. Since 1933 the federal government has, in fact, assumed responsibility for preserving the essential soundness of the economic system as a whole. No change in parties or elections would significantly affect this fundamental situation.

The above list is about as far as we can go in allocating responsibility to society, without profoundly altering our whole family structure. If the family has not been broken by desertion or the death of the wage earner, and if the economic structure remains reasonably sound, parents are expected to provide their own children with needed economic essentials. What is "necessary" easily becomes a moot question. Do necessities include cigarettes, formals, electric washers, cars, and college education? Should families unable to provide such for themselves get them by governmental subsidies? Is the economic system which fails to provide them for all fundamentally evil? These and similar questions we shall not attempt to answer here. Many "poor" families provide a quality of rich and loving experience which make them far superior for their children to many economically wealthy families. Parents are certainly under no moral obligation to refrain from having children just because they will be unable to afford all the "advantages" which some may regard as necessities. But when a family cannot provide even

the basic physical essentials when the general economic situation is fairly good, pregnancy becomes immoral.

Furthermore, morality is an obligation to act in accordance with existing conditions, not ideal demands. If I drive across a bridge condemned as unsafe, I am morally responsible. It may be that if crooked politicians had not stolen the money appropriated to repair the bridge, it would have been safe. But morality demands that each individual act in accordance with an existing situation, be it good, bad, or indifferent. If a man's family suffers economically because of some economic reversal to himself or general economic collapse, he should not be blamed. But if he blames his inability to support his family on an "unjust" economic system which he already knew about, he has no moral case. It is up to all parents to limit their children to the number which they can support under such a "wicked" economic system.

Now let us get back to the Indigents. Some parents have large families because they want them, as was obviously the case in *Cheaper by the Dozen*. But Mr. and Mrs. Indigent did not have nine offspring because they loved children. No one who loves children will bring them into a family where they will grow up neglected, half-starved, ragged, and cold much of the time. Large families which must depend upon charity under "normal" economic conditions, usually indicate irresponsibility. We need not here bring in the concept of condemnation or blame. But we should both see and point out that irresponsible conceptions are immoral, whether they occur within or outside of marriage. And society has the responsibility of trying to make sure that irresponsible people have no opportunity to practice immoral behavior, whether it be murder, rape, theft, or the conception of children for which they cannot properly provide.

### *Good Parents*

To begin with, a child ought to have two parents. No family can guarantee this. One or the other may die, long before the child reaches maturity. Neither can any couple guarantee that they will not divorce. Morality does demand that



the wife shall conceive only if divorce is still inconceivable. But if a couple is breaking up, won't a baby help to cement the marriage? If the cause of the break-up is superficial and temporary, it may. But if the conflict is serious, only penetrating analysis and extensive therapy may save the marriage. If we were to consult the baby on this point, he would probably say, "I'm just a little fella. I'm going to have difficulty enough adjusting to this new, strange world anyway. Straightening out the marriage of my parents, also, is just too much to expect."

A child needs two parents psychologically and socially, as well as physically. Because of the way society is organized, the mother usually has to assume most of the physical care. But babies need more than formulas and changes of diapers. Children need more than having their faces washed and their clothing mended. The boy needs help in understanding what it means to become a man; the girl, in what it means to become a woman. Children develop best only if both the father and the mother exercise a real influence. Unless the father is related to the children rather intimately, the boy may not get a chance to develop sound concepts of masculinity, and the girl may have too limited an experience with men to prepare herself adequately for her later role as wife to a man. Every child needs a psychological and social father. For this no male money earner, however successful, can be an adequate substitute. There are also a few other characteristics of good parents.

### *Good Parents Are Reasonably Respectable*

How would you like to be the child with whom other children are not allowed to play? What would it do to you to be constantly snubbed and avoided because your parents were "no account" or worse? Granted that respectability is greatly overrated by many people, and granted that some eminently respectable people are not only stuffy, but "stinkers," respectability of one's parents is still important. Otherwise the child faces extensive rejection. This can cause intense suffering. It can even lead a child to reject himself, which is a phase of

personality disintegration. No child should have to go through the experience of rejection because of his parents.

Responsibility at this point rests in part with the community. Standards of respectability are often unrelated to moral character or merit. Members of despised minority groups should not refrain from having children because they may be rejected on racial status or religious grounds. Rejected minorities can be related in groups in which their children can find social acceptance and group support. Those who wish to play a "prophetic" role face a different question. Do they have the right to inflict the inevitable penalties for what may be noble behavior upon the unborn? Some outstanding spiritual leaders have deliberately refrained from marriage. We shall not push this point further. Certainly pregnancy is moral only for parents who are worthy of social respect.

Legitimacy raises still other issues. No child should be penalized for what is not his fault, and protection from this is in part a social responsibility. The refusal to make distinctions of legitimacy in birth registrations is a step in this direction. On the other hand, in cultures which regard legitimacy as important, illegitimacy involves inevitable risks if not penalties for the child. Legitimacy is certainly the more moral, if not the only moral, situation in which pregnancy should occur.

### *Good Parents Have Good Character*

Respectability (in contrast to status and prestige) depends largely upon character as the community defines it. This community ideal is in practice, often distorted. Those who oppose the predatory-vested interests of the strong are often condemned as bad, while the grafting, flag-waving hypocrite may be held up as a paragon of virtue. To discuss the complexities of this issue would take us too far afield. We shall therefore limit our consideration here to those community standards which are defensibly valid. Most American communities expect adults to observe some manners, to be reasonably truthful, to refrain from stealing each other's

watches, overcoats, and money, to observe certain sex standards or, at least, not get caught violating them, to pay their debts, to provide their own support rather than depend upon the community, except in cases of emergency, and to be reasonably kindly and humane in their treatment of others. Every child has a right to parents who will live up to these not too exalted standards.

### *Good Parents Are Matured, Responsible Adults*

Those who become parents assume serious responsibilities. It is no job for children, regardless of how old they may be. Taking care of babies calls for developed and disciplined personalities. The proper care of children may require the couple to give up a lot of expensive entertainment which they greatly enjoy. Conception is moral only for those sufficiently matured and responsible to assume the obligations of parenthood without undue strain. Yet parents who take their jobs very seriously and do their best also present serious problems. Personality disturbance can be worse than irresponsibility.

### *Good Parents Have Good Mental Health*

When Frank Suburb was picked up by the police for stealing, the community was amazed. He came from such a good home. His parents were almost notorious for their strict honesty. He had such a good mother who had devoted her life toward bringing him up right. The psychiatrist who was brought in had other opinions about this last. This "good" mother subconsciously hated her father and subconsciously projected this hatred upon her son. When she was overly strict and severe with her boy, she thought that she was doing it "for his own good." Actually she was expressing to him a hatred which, because of her ideals, she could not admit to herself. The boy's theft (and its detection) was his way of striking back.

It is well known that "good" parents often try to force the personalities of their children into the molds of pre-conceived and harmful "moral standards." The results are

warped and distorted personalities, crushed into helpless conformity or goaded into deceit and open rebellion. Conscientious zeal is often a disguise for vicious subconscious wishes. Mental health is a corner stone for good parenthood.

### *Good Parents Are Competent*

Child guidance is a highly technical matter; in some respects, more technical than medicine. Even responsible and mentally healthy parents can fail because they do not know what to do. Many parents see their job in terms of training their children to be obedient and well-behaved, rather than in terms of meeting basic personality needs. Some work so hard to protect their children and give them "advantages" that their children never learn to fend effectively for themselves. Sometimes they expect too much. Highly musical parents almost damaged the personality of one of their children beyond repair. They did not know that the child was tone deaf and therefore incapable of achievements which other children found easy. We need not multiply illustrations. Like the good doctor or dentist, the good parent needs sound knowledge and technical skills.

### *Good Parents Are Loving*

By far the most important consideration is the quality of the family life in which the child is to be reared. And of its ingredients, love is among the most essential. An increasing body of scientific knowledge indicates that love is as vital for the personality of a growing child as food is for its body. Here we face another difficult point. Parents can give love to their children, only if they have themselves learned to love. It is easy to see that furs and diamond bracelets can never be a substitute for the personal interest and attention of a husband or father. It is less obvious that a man may be "too busy" to have time for his family because he has never learned to love anyone, even himself. Mothers may neglect their children to play canasta or promote welfare work because they are themselves hungry for a love which they have



not yet learned either to receive or to give. Love is the great essential in family life. For it there is no substitute.

So where are we? So far we have said that morality must include more than the sexual partners. If they have rights, so also do the children who may result from their relationships. What do these add up to? Shall we deny the right of parenthood to legally married couples, just because they cannot earn enough money to support children properly? Or require evidence of economic competence before a marriage license is issued? When a couple apply for a marriage license, how can we know in advance whether they will spend so much time playing bridge that they will neglect the children whom they will later have? Would we deny a license to a man who still believes that to spare the rod is to spoil the child?

Such questions confuse moral issues with legal policy. Judge John A. Sbarbaro has proposed that all applicants for a marriage license be required to complete a three-weeks course which would include "the fundamentals of child study" (pp. 113, 114). Our concern here, however, is not with the legal provisions which might make moral standards more effective in society at large. Nor will all, or even most, people live up to the moral standards suggested, however valid they actually may be. We merely affirm that pregnancy is moral only if, and to the extent to which, the following requirements are met:

1. There is a reasonable expectation for a sound mental and physical heritage.
2. The parents are economically responsible and competent enough to support their children when there are adequate opportunities for securing employment.
3. The parents intend to establish a permanent home for which both of them assume responsibilities.
4. The parents personally merit social respect and acceptability and have been able to establish some kind of good group relationship.
5. The parents have "good character" in the usual sense of respect for the persons and property of others and reasonable conformity to ordinary social demands.

6. The parents are mature enough and willing to accept the responsibilities of child care.
7. The parents are mentally healthy enough to be a good influence upon children. This involves the absence of personality distortions which might result in serious damage to the personalities of the children.
8. The parents know what is important in family life and have a reasonably good understanding of how to guide growing children.
9. The parents can give and receive love.

In some of these matters, society has an important responsibility. If parents are to be competent, or even understand the need for maturity, mental health, and a knowledge of child training, they must be taught. This necessary education must ultimately become part of the requirements of the public schools. But there will be little demand for such public instruction until such volunteer agencies as churches, Y.M. C.A.'s, social settlements, and the P.T.A. have done the pioneering work of instructing their own constituents. To lead the way in creating such a demand is their privilege and their opportunity.

#### BROADER SOCIAL ASPECTS AND THE CHALLENGE OF MALTHUS

"I stepped off a train at Calcutta and saw that the floor was covered with huddled bodies, most of them naked . . . as I picked my way toward the street I couldn't help stepping on many of them. . . . It was plain that some of these people were dead." So Mr. John Fischer, formerly of the United States Foreign Economic Administration in India, describes his arrival. He goes on to quote an Indian as saying: "From a strictly economic point of view, the 1943 famine was a failure. It killed only three or four million people, which means that it still lagged far behind the birth rate. And that means a few handfuls less of rice for everybody next year."

The economic aspects of pregnancy are not merely an individual, but a social matter related to the distribution of

wealth and income and the soundness of the economic structure. They are inescapably related, also, to the sheer number of people among whom the products of industry must be divided. This number is determined in part by the death rate. It is best and more morally determined by the amount of pregnancy. The resulting "population problem" immediately confronts us with the challenge of the Reverend Thomas R. Malthus. Dip into this literature, and you are at once confronted with a welter of statistical studies, claims, and counter claims.<sup>1</sup> Adequate consideration of these would require, not a few sentences, but many volumes. Limitations of space will allow only a few perhaps arbitrarily stated conclusions which the author believes could be proved beyond question.

1. *There are definite limits to the number of people which this globe can support.*

The huge amounts of relatively unoccupied land in North America plus improvements in agricultural and industrial production sheltered the peoples of Europe from the judgments of Malthus for more than a century. But by 1890 almost all the good land in the United States had already been occupied and was under cultivation. Redistribution of the wealth and income of the world would help some people temporarily. But it would only postpone the inevitable. For example, if in 1940 everyone in the world except the Japanese had committed suicide within two hundred years (at the regular rate of increase) the Japanese population problem would have become as acute as it was then. The rate of annual growth for the world at large has increased from .29 per cent in 1750 to .75 per cent in 1940, despite a marked

---

<sup>1</sup> Malthus' original *Essay on Population* first appeared in 1798. A more recent elaboration of his challenge is E. M. East's *Mankind at the Cross Roads*. One of the standard works on population is Warren S. Thompson's *Population Problems*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for January 1945 was devoted to *World Population in Transition*. For a more recent popular presentation of the Malthusian point of view, see Guy Burch and Elmer Pendell, *Human Breeding and Survival*. See also Robert C. Cook, *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma*.

decline in birth rate. At this rate it would nearly double every century. (*Annals*, p. 3.)

Increased productivity has been a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it has increased both the numbers which could be supported and the standard of living which was possible for them. On the other hand, it has made it possible to use up resources faster than they could be replaced. Thus the United States is becoming increasingly poorer as time goes on. The 1945 annual report of the Department of the Interior declared that our usable reserves of twenty-two essential minerals have dwindled to a thirty-five year supply, or less. The problem is not that we will be weak in a hundred years but the fact that "we are relatively weak now." Even water has become a serious problem in some sections of our country. If by some miracle we could double our production, or multiply it by ten or a hundred this would not solve the problem. There would still be limits beyond which our population could not go. As the waves of covered wagon pioneers, despite numerous diversions, approached the Pacific beyond which they could not go, so mankind today is approaching the inexorable barrier to his population growth, the limitations of the resources of his world.

2. *A high standard of living for all would sharply reduce the number of people which the world, or any part of it, could support.*

A speaker discussing recent developments in food production declared that this globe could support many times its present population.

"Yes," said a man from the audience, "but where would they all park?"

This remark suggests a major problem related to population control. Where the population is dense, the economic advantages of life are limited to an extremely small class. For the masses there is only destitution. Dr. Colin Clark estimated in 1940 that less than one-fifth of the families of the world received as much as ten dollars a week. Over half averaged less than four dollars a week (pp. 2, 3).



No conceivable increase in production could materially improve this situation. The Bombay Plan, discussed by Mr. John Fischer, proposed to double farm output and multiply industrial production by five for India within fifteen years. But even if this plan were completely successful, the per capita income would only be doubled, and would then reach about \$45 a year. In India, China, and other parts of the globe, only a sharp reduction in population would make possible an income which we in this country would regard as a minimum. Pregnancies are moral only when sufficiently limited to make possible a good standard of living for all.

3. *Many of our noblest ideals can be achieved on a world-wide scale, only if the sheer quantity of pregnancy is markedly reduced.*

Among such ideals are:

#### *A. Humanitarianism*

As Malthus pointed out, unless population is limited voluntarily, it will inevitably be limited by more brutal means. War and pestilence have historically been important means of population control. Behind them all is the final barrier past which the population of no country can go—famine. In the last analysis, population will be controlled. The only question is, "How?" Excessive pregnancy is immoral because it makes inevitable more cruel types of population control.

Such conditions profoundly affect, also, the attitudes of all men. Those who cannot help stepping on the bodies of others will soon cease to care. Morally we are justified in teaching people to share with the less fortunate, only if such sharing does not make the total situation worse. The American people have for some years, ceased sending aid to China because of a growing recognition that saving one life now may mean losing two later. Only a restriction of the amount of pregnancy can prevent the sheer magnitude of the requirements from overwhelming generosity. Life can be precious, only where it is not cheap.

### *B. Democracy*

Aristotle warned in his *Politics* (vii, 4) that if a state became too populous, it might become incapable of constitutional government or of political unity. In the same spirit, Pearl Buck declares (p. 5), "One of the chief causes for the increase in despotic theories of government is overpopulation. . . . It is only when work is too scarce and food not enough for all, that despotic measures must be taken, if not to insure plenty, at least to preserve order." Only a nation having a population small enough to make possible a sharing of its resources with all will regard all as worthy of sharing in the processes of government and social decisions. Only a nation having a surplus which is sufficient to educate all can have a citizenry to whom democracy may safely be entrusted. Only a people who can feel that the good life economically is possible for all can believe that the control of the corporate life can or should be shared with all.

### *C. Military Strength*

Wars are no longer matters of sheer masses of men, but rather of effective equipment. The amount of such military equipment possible will depend primarily upon the surplus which remains after providing for the essential physical needs of the population.

### *D. Quality of Population*

Those sensitive to eugenics have always bewailed the fact that our most intelligent people have the fewest, and our least intelligent people have the most children. Men like the late Professor McDougall, Albert Wiggam, and Walter Pitkin have repeatedly warned that America is on a biological joy ride. We are depleting the quality of our people as rapidly and as thoughtlessly as we have depleted our natural resources. Burch and Pendell regard this situation as only temporary. They cite authorities who claim that "Where contraceptive knowledge has reached all economic and social

levels . . . the most responsible and intelligent have had the largest families" (p. 69 ff.).

### *E. War*

Recent neo-Malthusians have repeatedly asserted that overpopulation is an important cause of war and threat to peace.<sup>2</sup> For this contention I see no evidence. Historically, countries where the population pressure has been greatest, such as India and China, have been among the most peaceable. Countries which are by comparison rich, such as Germany and Soviet Russia, have been among the most aggressive. We have abundant evidence that people will quietly starve, by the millions. Excess pregnancies may be blamed for many evils, but war is not among them.<sup>3</sup>

Have we devoted an undue attention to the moral issues which arise out of excess pregnancies? We think not. As Gunnar Myrdal has declared, "No other factor—not even that of peace or war—is so tremendously fatal for the long time destinies of democracy" (p. 33). Perhaps this statement is too extreme. There can be no doubt, however, that sheer excess is a major problem of the morality of pregnancy.

There yet remains one further problem of pregnancy; the positive side. The world even now has far too many people. No country has enough leaders. No country has enough well-adjusted, intelligent, socially-minded citizens. How often have we felt the tremendous influence of some effective leader, either nationally or locally, and said, "If only we could have more like him (or her)." How often have we seen simple, humble people who have infused a quiet stability into life stand firm amid the swirling tides of fanaticism and felt, "If only we could have more like them." We can have more, and we should. But if we do, we must produce them deliberately.

Those who are superior either in the stability and sound-

---

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Burch and Pendell, op. cit. ch. iv, and J. C. Flugel, *Population, Psychology and Peace*.

<sup>3</sup> For a further elaboration of this position, see my *War and Human Nature*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 125.

ness of their own lives or in the intellectual or physical stock which they could transmit to their children have a special responsibility at this point. For with few exceptions, children are produced only in homes. The morality of pregnancy requires that people shall not have more children than they can properly provide for. It also requires that those who, because of educational and other advantages, can give the best to their children shall have as many as they can have or afford. And we should all bear in mind that the greatest advantage a child can have is loving, understanding relationships and guidance.

To recognize the inalienable right of every child to a good physical and mental heritage and a good home; to avoid excess pregnancies where they prevent or threaten the development of the good life for all; to accept joyously and gladly the opportunity of putting into the social stream, developed persons who will be sound followers, if not the leaders of the future—this is the morality of pregnancy.



## SECTION 4

---

# Sex Morality in Larger Contexts



## 14.

### Sex Morality and Family Living

---

THE MYSTERIOUS STREAM of sex desire is fascinating and alluring, but also bewildering and baffling. To disport in its waters is exciting and thrilling for many, yet for some it is painful and distressing. It is vital as the only highway connecting nonexistence with life. Only on its turbulent bosom can the human race be carried. Yet it is also destructive and dangerous. Even as it gives life, it can snatch life back. It can ruthlessly tear as well as bless. So it is with family life. Sex lures men and women into establishing families. Yet it sometimes also eats away at the foundations of families, and causes them to topple and fall. To live safely *with* the sex we must live *by* has always been a major problem of mankind.

Our fathers sought to protect their families by erecting obstacles of social demand, consisting basically of chastity and fidelity. It was hoped that these would confine sex to marriage, thus providing safeguards behind which family living would be more secure. Maintaining these obstacles required never-ceasing vigilance. They were always washing away, allowing the river to break through in spots. But as long as they were vigorously and honestly supported by the moral resources of the entire community, they were really effective to some extent. We now face the question of whether family life, as we know it today, is worth its costs.

The worth of family life, like anything else, depends upon

its contributions to what we see and accept as important. A century ago there was no problem at this point. The broad acres which for most were both a livelihood and a life demanded stable families. Where could a woman find respectable employment which would provide her with the basic physical necessities of life, except as the wife of a man who would make the earth bring forth its increase? Who would run the household in which were produced the bread, the preserves, and perhaps even the clothing on his back, if there were no wife? How else in the thinly-populated wilderness would a man find a labor supply to help him clear the land, plow, plant, and garner unless he raised his own? Where would one find even a modicum of companionship on the lonely frontier unless he established a family? A philosophy of marriage required little more than a perception of how men were fed, sheltered, and clothed. Perceiving the importance of family living required little more than the ability to feel hunger and cold. And most of the material and economic interests of man were concerned with supporting any sex code which safeguarded family life.

We need mention only briefly the industrial changes which have undermined this basis of family life. Some people began making soap in factories, and families began buying it with money, rather than making it themselves. Wool was carded, woven, and ultimately made into clothing outside the home. Cotton and, later on, numerous fabrics at one time unknown were produced and offered for sale. Later even most bread was produced in bakeries. Today a man can buy a far better meal than most wives can produce without the necessity of living forever after with the cook. He and she can buy better and cheaper clothing than can usually be made at home. If one is ill, a hospital can give better care than a member of a family. Even if he owns a farm he can buy tractor helpers which he will never have to send to college or worry about running around nights.

Neither men nor women need to marry in order to get a job. The Occupational Directory of the United States Department of Labor listed over 20,000 vocations in 1940. Even



companionship is readily available in abundance, partly because of the larger number of people who live closer to each other and partly because of the innumerable clubs, lodges, and other organizations readily available. And if the taboos were removed, marriage would have nothing distinctive to offer in opportunities for sex. To many people, the conclusion appears simple. Family life offers nothing today which cannot, or could not, be provided as well or better by some other agency. Therefore, keeping up the moral obstacles which once protected family life is no longer worth the cost. In consequence, these supporting codes and, finally, family life itself may be expected to disappear. The rising divorce rate is but one major symptom of inevitable dissolution.

Whether or not we accept so extreme a prediction, one thing is certain. In the light of industrial developments, we must re-think our whole philosophy of family life and its relationship to sex standards. To this task we shall now devote our attention.<sup>1</sup>

The belief that family life will, or at least ought to, disappear is by no means new. Some would abolish it because it does not fit in with a larger scheme of social organization which they regard as desirable. In Plato's *Republic* the family was to have no place. The rulers of the state were to include women as well as men. Within this group all the women were to be available to all the men and no woman was to live with any one man privately. "Their children are to be common, and no parent is to know his own child nor any child his parent." The rest of the population is to be bred selectively, as animals are bred. All their children are to be placed in charge of nurses, who "will provide for their nurture and will bring the mothers to the fold full of milk, taking the greatest care that no mother recognizes her own child." Children not so bred are to be regarded as illegitimate, and children who are deformed are to be "put away in some mysterious, unknown place." Ingenious devices were suggested to persuade the populace to accept such drastic

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of the more comprehensive discussions of family life are those of Becker and Hill, Burgess and Locke, Fishbein and Burgess, and Nimkoff.

measures and to prevent incest between parents and children.

Plato wanted to abolish the family for two main reasons. First, selective breeding would improve the racial stock. Secondly, family life impaired the unity of the state. People should be loyal to the commonweal. But those who had families set the interests of these families above the interests of other citizens. Quarrels and dissensions resulted. Family life and private property were to be abolished so that there would be nothing left to quarrel about. Wars between the states would, however, continue.

Plato's plea, then, was not for sexual laxity. While the "guardians" (rulers) would have freedom to love within their own group, the majority of the population would not even have the sexual opportunities of marriage. Only those few chosen to be breeders would have greater indulgence and then only under the control of the state.<sup>2</sup>

Another group at least suspicious of the family because of plans for larger social organizations were the early Marxists. The desire to provide for one's family was rightly recognized as a major incentive to acquire private property. The Communist Manifesto declared that, "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course . . . with the vanishing of capital." Although personally opposed by Lenin, "free love" was generally accepted during the formative stages of the Soviet Republic.<sup>3</sup> Legal provisions reflected this lack of concern for, if not suspicion of, the family. Divorce was freely granted to either party upon application. Abortions were made legal, and in Moscow soon after 1925 abortions amounted to three-fourths of the birth rate. Some feeble attempts were made at communal living and non-family provision for all children. Later this position was greatly modified, and finally reversed.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Plato's views on the place of the family in the state are to be found in Book V of his *Republic*. Quotations are from Jowett's translation.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Jan Valtin's testimony in his *Out of the Night*. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941.)

<sup>4</sup> For further reports on the Russian situation see M. Barash and Rachel Yarros.

A contemporary non-Marxist proposal for the abolition of the family has been made by René Guyon. In a kind of modern Plato's *Republic* he proposes a rather complete reorganization of society which includes selective breeding and the support of all children by the state. Possibilities for birth control make it possible for him to advocate what would not have been possible in Plato's day, a rather complete sexual freedom and opportunities for all.<sup>5</sup>

The validity of such plans for abolishing the family will depend upon our appraisal of the total proposals of which they are part. If we regard any such Utopias as valid and desirable blue prints in accordance with which life can and should be organized, we will accept the demands related to family life along with the rest. Most of us believe, however, that no man or group is wise enough or moral enough, either to make such meticulous plans in advance or to be entrusted with their achievement. More important, we believe that the whole concept of the nature of society which is implied is in error. Societies are not erected like a building or a bridge. They develop as a result of their own inner dynamics as shaped by social pressures and can be directed and controlled only within such a framework. Utopias are interesting and perhaps valuably suggestive fantasies. But as predetermined molds into which societies either should, or can, be run they are illusory, and if we attempt to take them seriously, disastrous.

The serious challenge to family life comes from those who offer no complete scheme for the re-ordering of society, but who feel that the changed conditions which we have indicated have made family life obsolete. They feel that in a modern industrialized and urban culture the contributions of the family under more primitive conditions and the sex codes related to it have been made not only unnecessary, but positively harmful. Since family life is so far gone anyway, would it not be better to complete the job and have

---

<sup>5</sup> The first volume of this rather extensive and still uncompleted discussion has appeared in an English translation as *The Ethics of Sexual Acts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934, 1948.)

other institutions take over all its functions, including the care and rearing of children?

If only those who oppose family living would make organized and logical statements of their position! But they don't (except the Utopians). This reluctance is understandable. Most people take the family for granted so completely that its opponents usually do not dare to come right out with what they actually mean. Probably more important, they are often not aware of the full implications of their positions. They think that they see certain evils connected with family life which ought to be abolished. In pushing their points, they may not see that they are really asking for the elimination of the family itself. We who seek to present their position must therefore depend upon a statement here and a statement there, and their inferences and implications. From such fragmentary sources we have pieced together into a reasonably logical synthesis, the more basic objections to family life. The statement which follows is a compilation by, but not the personal position of, the author.

### THE INDICTMENT OF THE FAMILY

The simplest and most common criticism is that marriage fails to make people happy. On the basis of their personal observations, a number of authors have estimated that only one-fourth to one-tenth of marriages are happy after the first few years.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for this failure are obvious. Living with anyone under any circumstances is somewhat of a strain. If the couple were only roommates, this might be endured. Roommates are not required by law and public opinion to share their money and possessions. They may freely associate with others. Furthermore, if for any reason they find that they do not wish to live together any longer, they can quickly and easily separate without the resentments, recriminations, and legal tangles which are involved in a separation of married couples.

---

<sup>6</sup> For a number of such statements, see Edward Westermarck, *The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization*, pp. 38-40.



By way of contrast, how absurdly severe are the demands and restrictions of family life. As soon as one marries he can no longer associate normally with his friends. Always either a spouse or a larger group must be along to "chaperone." Sexual relationships with anyone except the spouse are, of course, taboo. And how indefensible are the economic aspects of the relationships. Each partner supposedly has free access to all the money and other resources of both. But is this true? How often the husband retains complete control of the purse strings and doles out money so as to have almost complete control of the entire family. Or the wife may just sit and do practically nothing. And, yet, because she is married she can demand entire support from someone perhaps less able to earn than she.

From this intolerable prison there is no ready escape. As people grow older they inevitably change; in interests, attitudes, outlook, and ideals. How absurd to expect that the one you prefer at twenty-five will be the one whom you will prefer at forty or fifty. Yet this is exactly what family life demands! If a man has a job he can, except in unusual contract cases, leave after reasonable notice. He does not have to prove in court that he has been cruelly mistreated, or that the other is a skunk, if not a criminal. The fact that he wants to leave is enough. But to get out of marriage, one has to prove serious charges against another with whom he has had happy and loving relations. The costs of divorce may be excessively high, not only in money, but in reputation and other social penalties. No wonder, then, that more and more young people look with jaundiced eyes upon a relationship which levies such heavy tribute and commitments, and yet offers little which could not just as well be secured without it. Of no other relationship do we make such excessive demands. Neither should they be required, it is said, in marriage.

For the children, family relations are even more damaging. Many authorities declare parents to be not only incompetent, but positively dangerous. Scarcely one person in a thousand is really capable of efficiently rearing and training a child. De Pomerai (pp. 305, 307) says, "Private families are respon-

sible for 'a gigantic crop . . . of warped personalities, suppressed abilities, and unnecessary antagonisms.' " Lindsay and Evans declare that "Homes in which children can find the right spiritual and intellectual atmosphere are the exception rather than the rule." According to Dr. Haire in his *Hymen* (p. 67), "The least fit persons in the world to bring up their own child" are the average parents. Furthermore, children need group relationships with other children of their own ages which not even the best homes can ordinarily provide. Obviously, then, "the average child is happier and far better off in a nursery school or properly organized educational institution than it is in its own home." (de Pomerai, p. 311.)

The breakdown of sexual standards and the rising tide of divorce mean the passing of an institution which no longer performs any useful functions which are worth its costs. As the title of V. F. Calverton's book suggests, what we now face is *The Bankruptcy of Marriage*.

This concludes the statement of the basic objections to family life implied by its opponents.

If the indictment is substantially correct; if family life is, or should be, on the way out, the sex codes designed to protect it should go along with it. But if family life is important for people today, it should be protected by appropriate codes of sex conduct. These may or may not be the same as those maintained by our fathers. But they inevitably will involve restrictions which should be clearly understood and socially supported and enforced. The danger is that people who believe in family life should advocate and practice behavior which will undermine the best type of family living. A major and basic question for sex morals, then, is whether or not family life is worth its inescapable costs. To this problem we shall now direct our attention.

## THE WORTH OF FAMILY LIFE

Most easily disposed of is the contention that institutions would be so much better for children than families. It may seem plausible that children would get better care from

properly qualified nurses and attendants than they could from the limited resources and abilities of most parents. Actually the opposite is true. A few homes are so bad and a few parents are so irresponsible, stupid, or even cruel that their children are taken from them by court order and turned over to institutions. But all the studies made, backed by years of experience, prove that most homes will do a far better job of child care than institutions. Even children who have no homes of their own seem to do better in foster homes than in institutions.

There are several reasons for this superiority of the family. To begin with, it is easy to overestimate the quality of the institutional care which could be provided for all children. The obvious inadequacies of most families are contrasted with a highly romantic and unreal picture of institutions manned by highly-trained, psychologically well-adjusted persons, eager to devote their lives to the care of other people's children and backed by unlimited public support. Our experiences with the public schools which attempt far less gives no basis for any such possibility. A considerable number of teachers are underpaid, poorly-trained, and badly-adjusted people, often with less insights and certainly with less incentives than most parents have. On most points, parents are superior to most attendants whom we would likely be able to get.

More important, families can provide a continuity and a quality of relationship of which institutions are incapable. We shall develop this point later. It is true that many parents do bungle their jobs and cause untold harm to their children. But decapitation is a rather extreme cure for a headache. The limitations of parents call for adequate programs of parent education, not for the abolition of families.

Parents could be properly trained for their jobs at a fraction of the cost and disruption which state care for all children would entail. Mentally healthy parents of good character who give their children plenty of love with reasonable supervision already have the basic essentials. Beyond this, parents need a certain amount of technical knowledge

and skill. These could be taught as successfully as the other subjects of the high school curriculum which they could easily replace. In addition to this minimum of training for all parents, society should provide psychiatric consultants for the handling of more difficult situations (as we now have physicians). No better system than this could be devised. So much for the children. Now for the married people themselves.

Happiness is by no means the only, or even the major, measure of family success. Parents need the discipline of responsibility for their own children. A culture in which everyone could breed without restraint and then turn full responsibility for their offspring over to the state would be on the skids. Yet happiness *is* important. How successful are families at this point? Fortunately we have several studies of marital happiness. These are limited in both the reliability of the techniques and in their samples. But they are far better than personal guesses. What do they tell us?

Katherine Davis' study which included 1,000 married women reported that 814 regarded their marriages as happy, fifty-eight, in addition, as very happy, and only forty-six as unhappy (p. 11). Terman's later study of 792 couples showed 82.6 per cent regarded as happy and only 4.5 per cent definitely unhappy (p. 53). But Davis' study included a large proportion of college graduates whose marital success is decidedly above that of the general population. Neither she nor Terman included divorced or separated couples. Dr. V. G. Hamilton, a New York psychiatrist, made a far more intensive study of 200 married persons. Some 45 per cent were maladjusted in their marriages, yet only about one-third regretted them (p. 69). But since many were presumably psychiatric cases, the sample is not typical. The Burgess-Cottrell study included both separated and divorced and found 22.5 per cent less than average in happiness (p. 32). In short, our best evidence gives no basis for the charge that family life makes people unhappy.

Much of the unhappiness which does occur within marriage reflects the condition of the people, not the situation



of family relationship. Immature, mentally ill, unhappy, and neurotic people will be unhappy, whether in marriage or out of it. To blame their marriages for their condition is like blaming beds for the illnesses and injuries of those who are bedridden. Sick personalities often crawl into marriage in the hope that it will cure whatever ails them. They will then blame their marriages for difficulties which actually reside in themselves. Under such conditions, the marriage may actually make their condition worse instead of better. But the failures which we attribute to marriage are usually the failures which existed in the people long before they married.

Marriage, then, is not for children, even physically grown-up children, nor for those with chronic mental illnesses. It is a real job which demands maturity, mental health, and good character on the part of people able and willing to assume its responsibilities. Family living is no prolonged picnic; no mere license to "have fun" with social approval. Those who lack what it takes have no more business to marry than they have to drive a car or sail a boat. But the solution of auto accidents and sailing upsets is not to abolish cars and boats. Still less is it to remove all restrictions upon their use. The failures of family life call, first, for demanding as much of those who marry as the law demands of those who drive a car, not merely a license but a demonstration of competence to handle it safely and well. Secondly, it calls for careful programs of training for success.

The charge that family life costs in money, restrictions, and annoyances is true, but beside the point. Is there anything worth while which doesn't? The same charges levied against families could with greater justification be levied against government. Government is terribly expensive. It is often stupid, corrupt, exploitative, and tyrannical. It is far more difficult to avoid or escape from than is marriage. These undeniable disadvantages, however, call for improvement, not abolition.

The costs and restrictions of family living could and should be reduced. Proper training would enable us to get

along with other members of the family with less suffering, damage, and frustration. Changes in the code to permit more widespread social relationships would ease restrictions now unnecessarily severe. Provisions could be made both to avoid the destruction of painful but essentially sound marriages and to make the dissolution of undesirable marriages less costly in terms of honesty, decency, and social penalties. But even when we do our best, marriage and the family will still be costly. The justification for these costs is that families are the best means of performing certain social functions which the human race has yet been able to devise.

The ultimate validation of family living is to be found, not in writings but in the experiences of men. The family in some form has existed in every known society. The recent experiences of Russia have merely repeated the age-old experiences of the race. Provisions weakening the family adopted about 1925 proved socially disastrous. By 1936, regulations protecting the family were restored. In 1944 they were made more rigid, and 1948 produced a violent reaction almost puritanical in its extremes.<sup>7</sup> There is not the slightest reason to suppose that in the matter of family life our culture will prove to be the one exception. Families exist because they meet, and will continue to meet, certain human needs better than any other means we have ever been able to devise. Not even flagrant sexual digressions have ever seriously veered the boat of human reproduction from its main channel of family relations. Certainly family life will not curl up and die because of the wails of its disparagers. Nor will it be lured upon the rocks of dissolution by fraudulent sirens painted upon the canvass of a fictitious Utopia by lifeless words, even though the artist be the great Plato.

An awareness that families are here to stay because they meet essential human needs is an essential foundation for any valid sex code. Sex morals must rest upon a far broader and deeper base than any physical effects, or the mere strain

---

<sup>7</sup> Ch. vi in *The Family* by Burgess and Locke gives an excellent summary of the situation in Soviet Russia. The more extreme reactions were reported in *The United States News and World Report* for July 22, 1949.

of continence. They must strengthen, rather than weaken, family life. Yet we have still made only a good start. For although families abide through changing ages, they abide with somewhat changed functions. A sex code will remain valid, only as it remains integrally related to the contributions which family life makes now.

Briefly stated, the main change in family life during the past century has been a shift of the center of its contributions from things to persons. As we have seen, other agencies can provide for physical needs as well or better. The main responsibility for creating human animals into persons is for the family. In this task the social group and its institutions, school, movies, church, and press contribute extensively and richly. But some essential personality needs can be supplied adequately only through the experience of family living. Among these are recognition, acceptance, and love. In contrast to the physical needs, as life becomes increasingly industrialized and urbanized, the importance of families becomes greater, rather than less.

### *Recognition*

Consider, for example, the changed situation regarding recognition. In an earlier age the community knew and recognized its members. Even a simple walk down the village street gave a man the reward of responsive recognition. People greeted him. They said "Hello, Jim" or "Good morning, Mr. Brown." They knew, not only his name, but considerable about him. He was a carpenter, especially good on floors. His wife was Elsa Smith whose father owned a store in the next town. They had three children, two girls and a boy. The boy had been ill with measles last week but was recovering. The man belonged to the Baptist church and voted the Whig ticket. He was slow pay but honest. When his wife went to buy drapes the store keeper suggested something which he thought would go well with the new furniture and rug in the living room. He knew all about this because he had sold her the rug, and he and his wife had spent many evenings with the Browns. Those who saw Mr. and Mrs. Brown saw more

than human animals occupying space on the street or in a store. They saw persons whom they knew and to whom they responded. Food for personality needs was all about like the air they breathed; and as unnoticed until it ceased to be available.

How different is the situation in the cities in which most of us now live! Occasionally we meet someone whom we recognize and who nods in greeting. Just what is his name, anyway? More rarely we meet someone who calls forth in us at least some responsiveness of knowledge. He lives in our building; name is Brown. He works at Mutual; some kind of office job there. His wife died last year; or was it his sister? Was she killed in an auto accident; or was it a train wreck? Our business or work associates we know better, and we have a few friends whom we know fairly well. Usually we have not known them long. People move around so much and we lose track of them. Whatever did become of that nice couple we used to pal around with so much just a few years ago? Never dreamed that we would forget them so soon. Oh well, they come and go, as we do. Most of the people whom we see every day are for each other little more than obstacles which we have to avoid in traffic. When there are only a few people around us we can establish personal responsiveness. But crowds mean loneliness. Because of their very numbers they mean inevitable loneliness. And our age is an age of crowds. The recognition for which people have always hungered is no longer a normal and integral part of just living. Like air in the hold of a ship or a deep sub-basement, it must be deliberately piped in or men's needs are not adequately nourished.

Marriage is by no means the only one of these pipe lines, but it is one of the most important. Others may respond to us as neighbors, or to our business activities, bridge, and the superficial conversation which usually accompanies such activities. Marriage means that at least one person can know us and respond to us as a whole person. We now have someone who knows not only our social and financial situation with some degree of intimacy, but our feelings, moods,



hopes, and aspirations. Such intimacy of understanding may not always be pleasant, but it is needful if we are not to stifle and choke. It also possesses a permanence which few other relationships can approach. For other friendships are increasingly threatened by the likelihood that we or they will move away, leaving only such fragments as letters and occasional visits can preserve. In all the welter of mass humanity and whirling shifts of population and friendships, sound marriage is for most the greatest and most secure basis for intimate and continued recognition. To marry satisfactorily means the establishment of a situation in which, until death intervenes, there will always be someone who has known us long enough and intimately enough to satisfy our personality hungers in this regard. The very economic developments which have stripped the home of some of its earlier functions have made other functions of the home increasingly vital.

### *Acceptance*

Much as we crave recognition, it brings little satisfaction unless accompanied by acceptance. It may be that some would rather be scorned than ignored; would rather be denounced or even persecuted than disregarded. Rejection is still a terrible experience. The world and its problems are so vast, and we as individuals are so small and weak. The sense of belonging; of group relationships and the feelings of security and strength which these involve; and of the acceptance by others which makes these possible are vital personality needs. Only a strong "we" feeling will enable us to withstand many pressures and difficulties and to overcome problems which might otherwise overwhelm us. Acceptance even by our own group usually requires behavior which puts us under some strain. Regardless of how we feel or what we would really like to do we must control our tempers and be reasonably pleasant, no matter what happens. Otherwise we face rejection.

The lack of courtesy and consideration which we display toward members of our own families has often been noted

and bewailed. This criticism is partly justified. Yet it usually fails to take into account one consideration. Most people greatly need some situation in which they can act as they feel without risking rejection. Most of us certainly should improve ourselves so that in acting naturally we also act decently. But in the meantime even crude, boorish, and despicable people need some relationship in which they can "be themselves" and still be accepted. One important function of the family is the opportunity which it gives its members to express their hostilities and resentments; those which they feel toward outsiders but have had to repress, as well as those which they feel toward each other. Marriage means, in part, the establishment of a relationship strong enough to stand the strain of behavior which outsiders would never tolerate. This does not mean that the family should excuse or condone immoral or unjustifiable conduct. A good mother, for example, will insist that her children face up to the consequences of what they have done, rather than help them to escape them. Acceptance in the family group means that they will not be "turned out," even psychologically. Especially does it mean that otherwise decent people will feel free to express their occasional disagreeable lapses without fear that they will thereby destroy the relationship. Family life weaves a rope of relationships upon which each can put the full weight of his own worst behavior, without fear that the rope will break.

### *Love*

Even mere acceptance is not enough, however. The proper nourishment of a personality requires a warm interflow of affection. Love is the greatest thing in the world. The hazy fog of sentimentalism has often distorted this truth, thereby discrediting it with some. But as our scientific understanding of personality advances, the centrality of love emerges as one of the great discoveries of all time. In recent times the overwhelming importance of love mutuality has been seen with special clarity in the parent-child relationship. Even before we had scientific insights we knew that nothing could take

the place of love. We have long sensed that the mother who does too much for a child—who buys him everything he wants, will not let him play any game in which he might get hurt, fights all his battles for him, hovers over him like a cat over a fish pond, chosers all his friends, clothes, and books—is not a desirable mother. “She is spoiling him,” we say. So she may be. But we sense that she is doing more. She is often denying him what he needs most, real affection. Her very eagerness to give him things, and even her time, may be a crude attempt to substitute for what subconsciously she feels unable to give—her love. The most serious spoiling may result, not from too much indulgence, but from too little love. No amount of physical protection and no amount of mere attention can compensate for a lack of affection. Neither can they conceal the real situation, even from a very young child. As a body, however young, responds to diet, so a personality will respond to a lack of affection. Love denied is a serious matter, even when the parents do not know what they are doing. Or even if they cannot help themselves.

This love situation may at first be a one-way affair. The child takes love but gives little in return. Other people are of value only because they give him what he wants. With maturity comes the other side of this need, the need to love others. Love, like blood, can feed only as it circulates. To circulate is to pass outward as well as in. Not to receive love is to starve. Not to give love is to suffocate. Growth does not diminish our need for the love of others, but it does increase our need to love others.

The centrality and vital importance of love is abundantly evidenced by what happens when it is lacking. In children the consequences may be such misbehavior as continued bed wetting or wanton destructiveness. The studies of Aichorn indicate that delinquency among youths frequently results from a lack of affection. As such it can be cured by convincing the individual that he will be loved, regardless of what he does. Likewise lack of love is a potent influence in causing certain types of crime. (Other types, especially crimes against property, usually result from other causes.) But

crimes against persons which do not benefit the criminal strongly evidence lack of love. There seems to be considerable evidence that affectional needs play a far more important role in international relations than has generally been recognized. The man or the people who are not loved and who do not love are not only deficient, but highly dangerous to others.

The indispensability of the family in the meeting of such needs constitutes the basis for its superiorities and continuance. Children thrive better in families because they feel more secure in the love and acceptance of their parents than is otherwise generally possible. The other advantage of family life is a continuity of adult relationships. In nursery schools, public schools, play groups, and churches, the child meets a number of different teachers, assistants, and supervisors who change as he advances from grade to grade, and often much more frequently. These changes contribute to his growth by giving him a greater variety of experience and adaptability. But along with this variety he needs the sense of stability by having some fixed points of adulthood which persist through the years. These essentials only a stable family can provide.

Adults continue to establish families, generation after generation, because their needs also are best met in such a relationship. The very restrictions and frustrations which make marriage at times so irritatingly annoying offer also values and advantages which normal adults usually find worth far more than their costs. The other side of an obligation is usually a privilege. The sharing of money and possessions can be disastrous unless there is a high level of integrity and trust between the partners. But if these are present, it has the advantages of a broader and more adequate economic base. For those who *must* share, also *may* share. For a few brief years many middle-class women, through no choice of their own, found themselves during their later years in a parasitic situation which had not existed when families were large and "Women's work was never done." Wives of today are rapidly adjusting themselves to this changed situation. Before the children come and after they are fairly grown, an



increasing proportion are doing what their grandmothers if not their mothers always did; assuming a real share in contributing to the economic support of the family.

The restrictions of marriage are also its security. Room-mates who live together mainly for convenience, or those related for mutual economic advantage should be free to make changes which seem to promote these purposes. But a relationship designed primarily to perform essential social functions and to meet love needs presents quite a different situation. If either partner could just pick up and leave any time he felt irritated or was pulled by a competing allure, the greatest values of family life would be threatened, if not nullified. The assurance that the relationships will not be dissolved except for vital reasons carefully weighed and considered is what makes possible one of the family's greatest contributions—secure stability. As economic, political, and international relations become more precarious, the stability of sound family life becomes increasingly vital. The advantages of family life are like the advantages of living in a spacious, well-built house, rather than in a trailer. The house has many restrictions. You cannot move it around from Florida to Maine and to the mountains or the seashore any time you desire. But this very immobility is what makes possible the spacious comfort and security which no constantly shifting trailer can provide.

The objection that the person whom you prefer at one time will probably not be the person whom you will prefer years later has some validity. Some people do marry a wrong person, and such a mistake should be corrected with a minimum of suffering and cost. But such cases will be exceptional. To begin with, a person's associations will not be limited to a spouse. In addition, he will have other friends and loved ones who, in their several ways, will provide much of the variety he needs. It seems probable that family life would be strengthened if society allowed a far greater degree of social associations than is now regarded as permissible. But these other contacts are of a different quality and content from family relations. For family life is not merely a

series of episodes. It is a continuous experience of growth. The man who would have trees on his place cannot keep pulling up the saplings and replacing them with others more to his liking. Unless there are excellent reasons to the contrary, he lets what he planted stay and gives it a chance to grow. So it is with normal marriage. Those who understand will not lightly tear out marriage relationships which have become well established. Whether they have made the best possible choice or not, the roots of what they have planted and nurtured have become too deeply intertwined in the soil of their souls.

### SEX CODES FOR FAMILY LIVING

The central importance of stable family life enables us to approach with better understanding the difficult question of the kind of sex behavior which will best promote its essential contributions. The research data at this point is far from conclusive. We can only follow our best judgments, awaiting more adequate knowledge to correct or to confirm our judgments. A valid sex code must be based in part upon an increasingly reliable knowledge of the results of sex behavior as discussed in the earlier chapters. It will center, however, about an awareness of the central importance of family life. Pending such greater knowledge, we offer the following:

1. Sex desire is not only inevitable, but essentially wholesome and moral. But like all desires, it must be subject to moral restraint.
2. Present taboos against incest, already generally observed without undue strain, are essentially sound. Only thus can we protect children from exploitations against which they could have no defense. People need also experiences of loving relationships with members of the opposite sex not regarded as sex objects.
3. Love centers in and, largely, emerges out of family life, but it cannot be limited to that alone. People who have the capacity to give and to receive love will inevitably come to love their friends who are lovable, regardless

of marital status. If those loved are also sexually attractive, such love will inevitably become tinged with sex desire. We shall not assume that such desire either need or should find expression in fornication or adultery.

4. Because of the emotional involvements sexual intercourse between husband and wife will be recognized as an important contribution to the strengthening of family life.
5. Adultery involves an inevitable diversion of economic resources, interest, and attention which weaken family life. Because of emotional involvements which cannot be fulfilled, it means a weakening, rather than a strengthening, of the love and affection between the adulterous partners. Adultery also tends to break down the safeguards surrounding the security of family life.
6. Sexual digressions on the part of married persons are to be regarded as generally harmful. They are not necessarily fatal. As with a broken leg, the experience is not to be encouraged. Neither should it result in a sentence of death for an otherwise sound family.
7. The case against fornication is not so clear and will, as we indicated in Chapter 9, vary extensively with the individuals involved. There seems little doubt, however, that family life would be in a safer and stronger position if all men restricted sexual intercourse to marriage.

Moral people, then, will be unashamedly lusty, and feel no sense of shame at sexual interest in those other than a marriage partner. They will refrain from sexual relationships outside of marriage for the same reason that they will refrain from smoking near a gasoline tank which is being filled. The dangers of disaster are too great.

"Where there is no vision, the people cast off restraint," is the more accurate translation of a familiar proverb. In this statement lies the basis for any effective program of moral education regarding sex. People will not refrain from so delightful an experience as sex, merely because it involves serious personal risks, any more than they will refrain from

riding in planes and cars. Even less will they observe social taboos, the reasons for which they do not clearly perceive. Without vision at this point they will cast off restraint, as recent studies have so clearly shown. A moral code will be generally accepted and observed for one main reason; because people believe in families, not only families in general, but their own family, actual or prospective, in particular. In an awareness of, and commitment to, the social importance and personal contributions of family living is to be found both the basis for a valid sex code and the motivation for observing it.

#### IN SUMMARY

Sex codes were reared to guard the family life  
Through which, in former times, came daily bread.  
They were its moat, its castle walls, its towers,  
Oft passed and breached, but never overthrown.

The wheel of industrial might has turned,  
And pushed production from the family;  
Has spilled its members in the larger world,  
And to bread, added cake and cars of life.

Since all such things no longer do depend  
Upon a family effort, some avow  
The family not worth costs of staunch defense;  
Doomed with its codes to perish without loss.

But this same industry has torn man from  
His fellows, and from work beloved. He's now  
More lonely and unloved than e'er before;  
More needful of the warmth of family life.

To produce children's laughter, nourished souls  
In spirit strong enough to bear the load  
Of freedom's heavy burden; here's the task  
Of family life today, and its rewards.

Not frowning battlements of dark taboo,  
But free men's disciplines, built from within;  
Commitment to the worth of family life  
Shall channel sex drives in moral controls.



# 15.

## The Issues of Morality

---

AT THE BEGINNING of our discussion we needed a basis of procedure. This we established in Chapter 3. There we defined morality in terms of behavior which benefits or harms people. No other definition can provide the universal and objectively valid quality which the concept of morality properly implies. Accepting the libertarian position would have made our discussion concerned only with the *forms* of sex behavior, instead of a discussion of sex morals. The theological-ecclesiastical approach would have plunged us at once into a seething caldron of strident claims and counter-claims. Since several of these groups claim to be the only ones who have the truth, it would have been impossible to establish principles by which their rival claims could be adjudicated. The result would have been anarchy, relieved at best only by reluctant and precarious compromises. We would then have had a discussion, not of morality, but of the claims and demands of particular groups. The social comparison approach would have resulted in a discussion, not of morality, but of group mores. We saw, also, in Chapter 3 that morality could not be a matter of personal preferences, even if these were re-baptized with the name "value." Only a scientific approach made possible a discussion of morality which is more than another term for mores, preferences, or the pleadings of special groups.

Defining morality in terms of human welfare enabled us to avoid these particular difficulties and to organize and

prosecute our inquiry in an intelligible and defensible manner. But we still face the most basic question. Is there any valid basis for demanding that people be concerned for human welfare, or anybody's welfare except their own if they do not wish to be? What justification have we for assuming that men have moral *obligations*, in sex or in any area of life?

Recent events have shocked us into an awareness that such questions are not merely academic. The investigations associated with the name of Senator Kefauver revealed a political and economic corruption alarming in its depth as well as its extensiveness. The widespread sabotage of efforts to protect the public and the treasury of the United States from inflation by almost irresistible pressures for higher prices and wages displays a calloused indifference to public welfare which permeates all groups. Character assassination for political reasons is not new. What should disturb us is the widespread approval and support which such assassins enjoy, even among the "respectable" who verbally bewail the decline of public morality. Evidence accumulates that large numbers of people, including many of our leaders, regard bribery, graft, and "foul play" as private matters, and, in practice, reject the whole concept of moral obligation.

If the basic concept of moral obligation is not recognized in other areas of life, people will hardly make an exception of the area of sex. Sex morality is only one aspect of the larger problem of the whole moral attitude toward life. I do not wish to raise here the question as to whether moral conditions are now better or worse than they were. The shocking exposés of writers like Tarbell, Steffens, and Sinclair are but detailed accounts of what appeared earlier as the satirical dirges of Mother Goose jingles (such as Little Jack Horner and his plum). It seems safest to say that the concept of moral obligations must be re-established with each generation. Unless the principle of morality is accepted, all attempts to establish a sex code will prove futile. In the discussion that follows, illustrations from sex ethics will be used primarily to indicate the issues involved in the basic concept of morality itself.

## TWO BASIC ISSUES IN MORALITY

The man who finds his friend's wife attractive and potentially willing faces the two basic issues present in all moral situations; values and obligations. By values we mean what he himself really wants. Philosophers often define ethics as the study of values. But by values they often include what a man "ought" to want. In this case, the "value" becomes actually an obligation. Values appear most simply in the form of prudence. If the man is successful in the seduction, his friend may find out about it and punch him on the nose. His own wife, whom he wishes to keep, may divorce him. The resulting scandal may cost him his friends, or even his job. In other words, he faces the social penalties already discussed in Chapter 6.

His values may, however, go beyond a desire to avoid personal penalties. He may love his friend and not want to do anything to hurt him. He may prize highly the relationship of mutual trust which the two couples have with each other. It was this sense of trust which made Macbeth hesitate before murdering his king. "He's here in double trust. . . . I . . . should against his murderer shut the door, not bear the knife myself." Many feel so about betraying the confidence of a friend, even if they are never discovered. But suppose (as with Macbeth) other desires are much stronger than such values. What then? Are we under moral obligations to go against what we ourselves want? Are there moral standards which exist outside of, and apart from, our own values which we *ought* to observe, whether we want to or not?

There are, of course, group demands which exist quite independent of our own preferences. Considerations of prudence may require conforming to them. But these are not moral obligations. Sometimes, too, we have been so emotionally conditioned in childhood that to violate these group demands will cause us emotional distress. Conscience is to a great extent the voice of the group speaking through the individual. If moral standards are only group demands, we

have a right to violate them whenever we are willing to risk getting caught, provided we can also overcome our inner reluctances. Moral obligations, however, may not only permit us to violate group demands; they may also require us to, even when this means severe social penalties. Herein lies the essence of the obligation for martyrdom, if it exists.

Martyrdom in itself does not establish, however, either the validity or the personal acceptance of moral obligations. A man might fight gangsters or political corruption for the same reason that he might kill his wife—because something made him so mad that he couldn't help it. Society undoubtedly benefits from people who violently attack evils at great cost to themselves. But a man can be extremely zealous in promoting a cause of great moral value to society, without having within himself any sense of moral obligation, and his appeal to moral ideals may be only rationalizations for behavior which stems primarily from his own inner disturbances.

The concept of morality differs from group demands and inner compulsions in the universality of its obligations. Group demands are, as such, valid only for those who are members of the group (although some groups feel that everybody else should be like them). Inner compulsions function (often to the bewilderment and distress of reformists who cannot get the support they seek) only for those conditioned in a particular way. But moral obligations should "in general" be observed by all. Two situations will affect their applicability; differences in situations and differences in levels of development. Thus a man may be regarded as morally obligated to support his aged mother, if she is in need and he is able to do so. But if she has ample private means, or he is destitute and helpless, he will not be regarded as obligated. The other difference is in levels of development. We do not expect much of some people morally because they are weak, or "don't know any better." Of others we expect more. We expect more of clergy than of other men, more of adults than of children, more of people from "good" backgrounds than of those from "poor"



backgrounds. Because we do not know all the facts, our judgments are often badly awry. But the general principle of expecting different things from different people is sound. Yet some moral standards are to be expected from all sane and reasonably matured persons, if we believe in morality at all. Some people do not, at least in certain areas. This fact was strongly brought home in a recent counseling case.

Hazel Church and Bob Skipper were obviously in love with each other. You could tell it by the way Bob helped Hazel remove her coat in the office of the marriage counselor. It was evident in the way their hands touched each other as they sat side by side. The adoring glances which they turned toward each other, constantly telegraphed their message of love. They made you feel like putting your hands on their heads in benediction and wishing them Godspeed. There was just one catch in it. Bob was already married to another. They had one child, and a second on the way.

Their story made you feel even more concerned. Bob had recently been discharged from the navy. While in the service he had been stationed in a city on the West Coast. There he had met Hazel. They had met in a church where Hazel worked as a member of the staff. Their common interest in religion was one of the factors which drew them together. They began to "date," quite innocently at first, and quickly "fell in love" with each other. In the meantime, Bob's wife had been living in Cleveland with her mother and a four-year-old son. This arrangement seemed more satisfactory than having her come to a city in which accommodations were so limited. With his wife thus safely out of the way, Bob moved in with Hazel and lived with her for three months. The wife was, of course, not informed.

But Mrs. Skipper became lonesome for her husband. She informed Bob that she and their son were coming west, and Bob was able to locate a fairly suitable apartment. When she arrived, Bob introduced her to Hazel. The wife, suspecting nothing, welcomed Hazel into the family circle and invited her on their trips and outings. Bob continued to consort with Hazel, dividing his nights between the two women. He ex-

plained his absences from his wife as naval duties. The wife, still deeply in love with her husband, had no inkling of the situation. The illicit lovers finally decided that the husband should become divorced and they would then marry each other. They came for consultation as to how best to proceed.

This case presented several unusual and extraordinarily difficult features. Adultery is not uncommon, but it is usually accompanied by some feelings of guilt. Often, too, it is only a temporary and transient situation. The adulterer has no intention of breaking up his family. Not so with this couple. They definitely planned to break up his family so that they might marry each other. Hazel was a party not only to adultery but also to husband stealing. The stealing was deliberately planned and pushed through and involved a serious betrayal of the confidence of the wife who had welcomed and trusted her as a friend.

Most serious was the attitude of the couple. This was not sufficiently developed morally to be immoral. The immoral man at least recognizes the existence of moral obligations which he ought to observe, however much he may violate them. Therefore, there is some basis of appeal, even though the appeal may be rejected. This couple were not *violating* a moral standard. For them, the standard did not exist. They were not insensitive. They had some real concerns for the wife and the way she would feel. But these concerns were like the concerns of a dentist who is sorry for the pain which he is going to inflict upon his patient. The concerns involved pity, but not moral demands. The couple not only said, but felt, "We love each other and we want each other. Our desires in this respect are the only things which really matter." For them, there were no moral obligations at this point. They were not immoral. They were non-moral.

The attitude of this couple toward their sexual behavior reflects a general attitude toward all life which is more common than many suppose. And it has crucial significance for the very foundations of life and human relations. Like most people, this couple were not consistent. In other matters they evidenced a considerable concern for moral obligations. Yet

there is no logical reason why they should. If it is all right to steal the husband of a woman who is foolish enough or weak enough to let you get away with it, it is all right to steal her watch, purse, fur coat, or anything else with which she may have been a bit "careless." By the same reasoning, crime rings can justify their nefarious activities, including widespread corruption of government and the murdering of those who stand in their way. International bandits likewise defend the stealing of whole countries, including the liberties of their peoples and such slaughter and repression as seems necessary to attain their ends. The corruption which is causing our thoughtful leaders such serious concern is far more than a widespread violation of moral standards. It represents the emergence in our time of a philosophy which is as old as human relations, but which has always been a central issue in ethics; the view that behavior is, or should be, a private affair. This is the position of non-morality.

#### THE NATURE OF NON-MORALITY

Years ago we had trouble with a weasel who raided our chicken roost. We knew that he was operating, all right. His tracks were all over the place, along with feathers and pieces of bone. But somehow, we never seemed able to catch him. So it is with non-morality. Its tracks are all over the place. Its existence is clearly evident in the damage done by those who adopt it as a working basis of procedure. But somehow those who practice it don't organize it into a philosophy. Nobody frankly repudiates the whole idea of morality and defends his position in a logically organized statement. Non-morality is like the skeleton of some prehistoric monster in a museum. We have to piece it together out of fragmentary statements and logical implications into a whole which is, in one sense, our own synthesis.

We should begin by distinguishing non-morality from immorality. Men frequently violate standards in which they sincerely believe. Often they feel a considerable degree of guilt, even when they persist in the conduct which they be-

lieve to be wrong. But as long as they continue to recognize moral obligations, they are immoral, rather than non-moral. The non-moral are those who, like the couple who came for counseling, recognize no obligations beyond their own wishes and desires except those dictated by prudence.

We must take care not to confuse pleas for a different morality with non-morality, even when a writer himself makes this confusion. For example, Schroeder in his *Attitude of an Amoral Psychologist* avows a sweeping repudiation of all moral values, new as well as old. Yet his discussion is saturated with moral judgments on moral judgments, which he designates by such highly moralistic terms as "evil." He is really inveighing against moral judgments based upon subconsciously subjective desires. Discussions of sex often plead for a different morality, not the elimination of morality. Dr. Haire defends prostitution on the grounds that everyone has a moral right to "adequate" sexual satisfactions. Some who would relax sex standards, also demand a higher standard in our treatment of sexual "delinquents." We may regard these standards as mistaken, or even evil. But if people feel obligations which they should fulfill regardless of their own wishes and interests, they are not non-moral, however immoral we may regard them.

In practice, non-morality is likely to be specific and limited. The man who says that "business is business," or who pleads for "art for art's sake" or who affirms that the scientist has no other obligation except "the unswerving search for truth" is really saying that within the area mentioned, moral standards do not belong. Those who in practice assume that the only important thing is to win this election or this strike, or to get as much as possible for our party or the members of our particular union, to this extent repudiate the very idea of morality. The "America first" group and the "my country, right or wrong" groups are plumping for non-morality in the field of international relations. Yet in other areas, they may have a high sense of moral obligation. Indeed these very demands may be regarded as themselves moral obligations. In recognizing moral concepts



in some places and not in others they are, of course, inconsistent. For if the concept of morality applies to any area of life, it must apply to all. If it does not apply to all, logically it applies to none. For a morality which applies only where and as we choose to have it apply is no morality at all. Yet psychological inconsistency makes possible in practice a limited degree of non-morality.

It seems doubtful that anyone is completely non-moral, yet some people do approach it. The dictator who recognizes no moral principles beyond his own will is perhaps our best example. In this country, leaders of criminal gangs (who are dictators within their own domain) are our clearest illustration. Yet even here there is some imputation of moral standards. Criminals "ought" not to "rat" on each other; although the "honor" among thieves is greatly overrated. The basic attitude toward life is that there are no moral obligations beyond prudence.

The non-moral attitudes of dictatorships account in large measure for their dependence upon favors and coercion as means of control. If morality is non-existent, only reward and fear can be depended upon for support. Dictators feel that their closest followers would not hesitate to cut their throats if it seemed an advantage to do so. From a non-moral point of view, the followers would be fools if they didn't. Therefore, reward them if they obey, and strike them down unmercifully if they rebel. Such is the logical and, in time, the inevitable situation when the concept of moral obligations loses its hold.

It would be possible to state a plausible, and perhaps impressive case for rejecting the concept of moral obligations. "Moralists" not only often do much harm, but moral ideals are frequently a screen behind which selfish and vicious interests are masked. The Devil robeth himself like an angel of light. Hitler advanced behind an appeal to justice. Communism promises a heaven on earth. Ecclesiastical dictators rule in the name of God. Machiavelli even suggested that the ruthless pursuit of selfish interests without consideration for moral considerations would actually

result in less harm to society. "A prudent Prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him," for "if a Prince succeeds in establishing and maintaining his authority, the means will always be judged honourable and be approved by every one. For the vulgar are always taken by appearances and by results, and the world is made up of the vulgar" (ch. XVIII). "When the class . . . on whom you . . . rely for your support is corrupt, you must needs adapt yourself to its humours . . . in which case virtuous conduct will only prejudice you" (ch. XIX).

The case for non-morality is not sufficiently serious to warrant extensive refutation. Events speak so clearly and decisively as to need little verbal statement. As people lose their sense of moral obligation, the fabric of social relationships begins to disintegrate. Conflict becomes more ruthless and disastrous. Society is torn apart and sinks to a lower level which demands less moral character. Civilization can survive only as we maintain the sense of high moral obligation in all areas of life. To do so vigorously and unequivocally is an imperative need of our times.

The greatest danger to the concept of morals in sex will not come from some new Machiavelli who will persuade us to abandon all standards in the area. It comes rather from a subtle but all-too-pervasive concern for the costs of sexual morality, without any commensurate concern for its values. All moral standards cost. Our standards against theft mean real deprivation to the poor who might so easily improve their lot by just taking what they want. Our store window displays, advertisements, and catalogues mean serious frustration to many who are lured by the appeal of what they do not, and cannot, possess. No sensitive or informed person would defend the justice of existing distribution. We can only say that a removal of all restrictions upon theft would result in a social chaos which would lead to more deprivation, frustration, and injustice than we have now. The costs of maintaining moral standards in the realm of sex are undeniably great, and ought frankly to be faced and recognized. But the attitude of mind (or of feeling) which sees

only these costs and regards them as outrageous infringements upon fundamental human rights is a danger which will result in disaster in any area of life.

### WHAT IS OUR TASK IN SEX MORALS?

In addition to establishing the principle of moral obligation, our tasks are two:

1. *To build a more valid and accurate instrument of moral measurement than we now have.*
2. *To establish and hold up a social goal of sex conduct, which will be the best compromise of existing factors which we can devise.*

Let us consider these points one at a time. Our first task will be to make our sex code as valid as possible. The inevitability of costs should not lead us to assume that all our present costs are unavoidable. We can, as we already have, greatly reduce these costs when they do not contribute to the objective of human welfare and social protection. We have already eliminated many of these tensions which result from the futile attempt to eliminate interest in sex and sex feelings from life. Other tensions which could and should be considerably relieved are those which result from confusion as to what moral standard is expected and the reasons for the deprivations and controls which are demanded.

If we are to clear up the confusions which cause uncertainty and its resulting tensions, we must begin by giving serious attention to the problem. Religious and educational leaders are to be congratulated for receiving the Kinsey reports with so little vituperation and resentment. Less gratifying is their failure to respond vigorously and effectively to the tremendous need for sound guidance which the reports revealed. Any changes in our sex codes should be the result of deliberate choice in the light of our best scientific knowledge and spiritual insights, not the result of the blind play of social and economic forces and random "experimentation." The danger is that we shall let the whole matter go by default, to the serious detriment of society. We are somewhat

like a young army officer whose men were marching toward a cliff, but who became so confused that he could not think of the order to turn them in another direction.

As the first ranks neared the edge, his sergeant blurted out, "For heaven's sake, say something, even if it is only good by."

Our schools, colleges, and churches have enormous resources, both for research and for education. It is way past the time when they should be giving serious attention, first, to finding out how sexual intercourse affects people, and, second, on the basis of this knowledge, to progressively formulating more valid ethical standards. Next, results of such studies should be widely disseminated and assiduously taught. So far we have made some feeble attempts to teach something about the biology of reproduction, under the illusion that this was "sex education." The far more important task of sound education in sex morals remains relatively untouched.

One essential of sound sex education is a better adjustment between protecting the social code and the needs of the individual. One of my students, in explaining why she was sending her sister to consult with me about her marriage difficulties, rather than to her clergyman, said, "You will be concerned about her as a person, not merely with upholding the demands of the Church." The older moralists were so concerned with the code that they often lost sight of the people. "Protect the integrity of the home. Allow no divorce with re-marriage. If anyone strays from the straight and narrow, punish severely. Our moral standards must be upheld, at whatever cost to the individual."

An obvious difficulty with this position is that, in practice, it is unevenly administered. Many "sinners" are either too clever to be caught, or too influential to be punished. To compensate for this and for more subtle inner disturbances, we are likely to crack down with sadistic cruelty upon the hapless weak who are caught, thus promoting hypocrisy and compounding an injustice. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is a classic exposé of this problem. The far more trenchant



criticism of "moralism" was that given by Jesus in his discussion of the Sabbath. The moral code is (or should be) made for man, not man for the moral code. Moral standards upheld "at whatever cost to the individual" are not moral.

On the other hand, we must not overlook the indispensable sociological and psychological functions of moral codes. Some people, reacting understandably against the "moralists," have gone to the other extreme of minimizing, if not ignoring, social standards. "We must encourage the individual to live in accordance with *his* moral standards, not ours. We must encourage the individual to free himself from social inhibitions; encourage him to be "himself." Once he is really free, he will be largely able to solve his own problems for himself."

The limitations of this extreme are easily indicated. "What seems moral to the individual" will almost certainly be largely a result of past emotional conditionings. It may be an expression of deep emotional disturbances which, if followed, will almost certainly lead to tragedy. Quite as important is the almost universal need for a certain amount of constriction. Recent studies<sup>1</sup> have shown that most people need rather clearly ascertained moral boundary lines beyond which they are not permitted to go without penalty. Without these, the individual feels lost, and may even seek to "escape from freedom." Excessive "freedom" lays the groundwork for a resort to dictatorship as an artificial attempt to restore those social markings which are an important need of every individual.

A valid code, then, must take full account of individual differences, both in persons and in situations. As was pointed out in Chapter 3, a code which can make only two distinctions of moral and immoral is far too crude to be useful in our complex civilization. We need to see sex conduct as occurring in not merely two, but in a large variety of different situations and to see it in terms of its causes, meanings, and results. Only then will we be in a position to determine

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Eric Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* and Bruno Bettelheim's *Love Is Not Enough*.

the degrees of morality and immorality which may properly be attached to the conduct.

Understanding the probable results of such conduct will give us what we now so often lack; a proper and substantial basis for such demands and restrictions upon sexual conduct as the welfare of society may require. As we indicated in Chapter 5, one crucial factor in determining the amount of tension is the attitude of the individual. On camping and canoe trips, for example, people will cheerfully endure hardships and deprivations which, in other circumstances, they would regard as intolerable. We need not worry about the hardships and tensions which restrictions upon sexual conduct will cause, *provided they are recognized as essential, or even contributory, to valid personal and social ends.* What people rebel against, either consciously or subconsciously, is meaningless restraints. As our taboos and the conditioning processes which supported them decline, we shall have to depend more and more upon what is, after all, the best support of any morality—*careful and effective education regarding sex morals.* This will be far more than mere exhortation and demand. It will have to be based upon a relatively extensive program of both information and emotional commitment to valid social ends as they involve sex behavior. We parents, teachers, clergy, and other social leaders had better get going at this task!

#### BUT WHAT ABOUT EXTRA-MARITAL INTERCOURSE?

Many people who agree rather fully with the preceding discussion will still feel that something important remains. Granted, that a workable sex code must be able to make many different moral distinctions, rather than just two. Granted, that adultery, for example, like theft, is not one, but a variety of different situations which vary in their meanings, causes, and moral results. Still, marriage does represent a rather clearly ascertained dividing line in sex relations which is of considerable significance in the making of actual decisions. When a man finds another man's wife attractive and

potentially willing, what should he do (provided he is willing to run the risks)? Should the wife who is attractive be "potentially willing?" Should the husband of such a wife accept any situation which may develop, either because he is "broad-minded" or because he hopes to find the wives of others potentially willing? What standards should parents inculcate in their daughters in anticipation of the time when they will be approached sexually by high school classmates? Or to their sons who are the potential approachers?

Religious, educational, and social leaders face still another aspect of this problem. In all areas of life, including sex, society ought to have certain ideals and goals to hold up. Because of social and personal limitations, most people will occasionally violate these ideals, and many will fall far short of them. Yet they should be there, clear and unmistakable, as something for which to strive. Should these ideals include premarital chastity and postmarital fidelity?

These are real and immediate questions to which people want answers. Some people will come to this book for the express purpose of finding them. In any case they may say, "You have spent considerable time in a careful study of sex ethics. You must have come to some conclusions, which may be right or wrong, in whole or in part. In any case, we want to know; we have a right to know what they are on this particular point."

When I first began my examination of all relevant literature, I felt like Abraham of old who went out, "not knowing whither he went." I started out somewhat on the "permissive" side and expected that further study would swing me further in this direction. Somewhat to my surprise, I found that the more critically and carefully I examined the evidence, the more conservative I became. This result has already caused some to accuse me of dishonesty, or to resort to more "kindly" explanations in terms of self-deception. Therefore, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" requires a brief but careful statement of the basis of such conclusions. These are as follows:

1. *Critical examination revealed many "permissive" proposals to be highly romantic illusions, ethically indefensible and/or practically unworkable.*

Establishing a social code about sex or anything else is somewhat like establishing a line of military defense. There are only certain places where you have any chance of holding it. If you are driven from that, you must retreat until you reach your next line of river or hills. Marriage is a line which is relatively defensible. To begin with, you can know where it is. Almost everyone knows whether he is married or not, and to whom. Marriage is bolstered by definite and strong moral, social, and legally-supported sanctions and responsibilities. But if you give up this line, where are you?

Let us examine some of the proposals to establish the line of sexual permissiveness somewhere else. Macmurray in his *Virtue of Chastity* would substitute high spiritual idealism for the usual moral restrictions in sex. Look at the condition of our world and judge the feasibility of such an appeal. Will such "inner controls" be enough for people who are not even intelligent enough and moral enough to abolish war? Our immaturity and lack of discipline make essential the guidance of a clear and strong sex code. As a leverage upon human selfishness, lust, and social insensitivities, such a code is indispensable.

Other permissive proposals center about the plight of youth. It is certainly regrettable that young males are denied permissible heterosexual outlets at the very time when their desires are most intense. But how are you going to arrange for such outlets without rather completely destroying all sexual standards? Dr. Farnham would be permissive for "older" youth but not for "younger." But many boys have more intense desires at thirteen than others do at seventeen. How old is "older," and who is going to decide? Are you going to use chronological age, physical maturation, I.Q., social maturity, sexual precocity, or emotional stability as your basis of judgment? What is your proposed program for testing for eligibility? Here is a suggestion to establish the



code at a line which you cannot even identify! Murdock does a bit better. He would have permissiveness for the unmarried, but draw the line at adultery. His proposal supplies an identifiable line, but is otherwise quite unworkable. Will people who have been used to "free" cohabitation suddenly change their sexual patterns as the result of a wedding ceremony? And why should they? In some respects, adultery is more defensible than fornication. The people are usually more mature and responsible, and any resulting child will have a home into which he can be received.

A considerable group would give permissiveness to older unmarried women. This may sound reasonable on the surface. But with whom are these women to consort sexually? With each other? Or only with unmarried men? You don't actually believe this, do you? Most of the men with whom these women will want to consort will be married. Can you grant permissiveness for adultery to these men and deny it to their wives? So there goes the whole restriction against adultery. The alternatives are clear. A code which restricts sexual intercourse to marriage is morally defensible and workable in that it can be understood and can reduce considerably the amount of forbidden behavior. Or you can, like Dr. Haire, demand complete permissiveness for everyone (short of coercion) including fornication, adultery, and prostitution. There is literally no other position in between which is either reasonably workable or ethically defensible.

*2. The primary consideration in any sex code is to safeguard family living.*

Dr. Haire believes that all men have a natural right to adequate and regular sexual indulgence. Grant this premise, and his demand for permissiveness regarding fornication, adultery, and prostitution is ethically sound. For reasons which are stated in Chapter 14, I believe that the preservation of sound family living is the primary concern. No individual and no group has any rights which impair this. The complete permissiveness which Dr. Haire advocates would and, to the extent to which it is practiced, does undermine

and weaken family life. I have, therefore, come to accept the only workable and morally defensible alternative. Our social code should strive to restrict heterosexual intercourse to marriage. The more I study the problem the clearer it has become that there is no other valid position. Critical scrutiny is an acid in which all other proposals speedily dissolve.

*3. The objections to the above position are real and as objections, often valid. But, if seen in other connections, they would be regarded as a necessary price for a vital social good.*

Continence is a strain upon the unmarried. It is even more of a strain if they are constantly reminded that any restraints are outrageous. So, also, is the social code against theft. The constant display of goods in stores and advertisements is unquestionably a severe hardship on those who cannot afford them. Shall we ease this strain by greater permissiveness for those whose incomes are, say, under \$5000?

The demand for chastity works unfairly. So, also, does the demand that some men die on battlefields in order that the rest of us can enjoy more security. The preservation of family life is worth any hardships which any group may be called upon to make.

The sex code is flagrantly violated. What social code isn't? Every major research study made, whether of corruption in politics, "robber barons" in industry, or plain "studies in deceit" has revealed widespread and shameless violation. Men are probably more moral in sex than in any major area which has ever been carefully investigated. In one sense, social codes are like the tires of a car. They have been deliberately located where the wear, bumps, and rough spots of the road of life are most severe, so that the rest of society will not be too much upset. Naturally they take a beating. That is what they are for. The important question is not whether a social code is violated, but whether it is valid.

Dr. Farnham and others see our sex code on the skids in an "irreversible trend" toward permissiveness. Where have we heard that one before? Twenty-five years ago, a prominent social scientist saw Christianity on its deathbed. But

this "irreversible trend" promptly reversed itself in a spectacular "about face." It is quite possible that we shall yet see a violent reaction against our maudlin coddling of sensuality. Anyway, even if true, the solution is not a supine yielding. A few years ago there was in Germany an "irreversible trend" toward Nazism. An evil trend may be strong enough to force us to come to terms with it. But we are not thereby obligated to call it good. Let us not forget that the final outcome of a bad "irreversible trend" is usually disaster.

### WHAT SHALL WE TEACH OUR CHILDREN?

Problems of sex morals are essentially the same as other moral issues. Personality is a labyrinth of fears, hatreds, and resentments. These often result in drives as strong and compulsive as those of sex. Unless these feelings find outlets, serious damage to personality may result. How can we manage this without causing other harm? Our best answer to this is permissiveness for feelings but control of conduct. We understand that Johnny feels strong hatred toward the baby sister who has become his rival, and we encourage him to express this verbally without punishment or shame. We do not allow him to attack baby sister with shears or otherwise harm her. So it should be with sex. Let us teach our children (and ourselves) to recognize and to accept sex feelings without shame or embarrassment. We must learn to feel no shame because we find many people sexually attractive and, consequently, desire extra-marital sex relationships with them. It is important to learn, however, that all desires must be subject to moral restraint. Sound family living is essential to social well-being and the restriction of heterosexual intercourse is essential to sound family living. Sexual behavior which does not involve others is a private matter, except as it is symptomatic of personality disorders. In such cases, our concern is with the disorders, not with their sexual expressions. Such a code has many obvious limitations. It is only more workably better than any other one we have ever been able to devise.

## 16.

### Sex Morals in the Context of Religion

---

MANY PEOPLE would feel easier if the subject of religion could be excluded. Even those personally friendly to religion may object on the ground of complexity. For religion is not one, but a bewildering and often conflicting variety. Which religion are we talking about, Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish? Is our "religious" point of view to be liberal, orthodox, conservative, fundamentalist, "free," authoritarian, or what? If we adopt any one of these points of view, do we not necessarily exclude the vast majority who are of different "persuasions?" Even more serious than the sheer number of groups is the depths of their cleavages. Consider, for example, the storm you can stir up on this matter of birth control! Therefore, it is best to remain discreetly silent about religion.

Others who are less friendly raise still other objections. They are frankly afraid of the dogmatic, moralistic approaches which religious leaders so often take. They regard such an approach as a serious impediment to the effective solution of any human problem. They remind us that in the past, the sciences have often had to fight hard for their very existence against bitter ecclesiastical opposition.<sup>1</sup> They do not want to go through all this again. They further point out that church groups approach the subject with very real vested interests,

---

<sup>1</sup> For a classic account of a particularly dramatic phase of this struggle, see A. D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*.



complicated by irrational emotions. The problems of sex morality are difficult enough at best. To inject the rigidities and dynamite of these special pleaders into the discussion not only diminishes the chances of any intelligent solution, but makes the whole subject dangerously explosive. It will be far safer and better to leave religion out of the discussion entirely.

Such objections are understandable and, to some extent, valid, but they are beside the point. We must "include" religion because it is already there. We can no more leave out religious agencies in a discussion of sex ethics, than we can leave out labor unions in a discussion of wages. Whether we like it or not, and regardless of complications, religious influences actually do have a powerful effect upon sex conduct and attitudes. A discussion of sex morals which omitted religion would be mutilated and distorted.

Religion influences morality most obviously as a basis of authoritarian demand. People believe that God (or the gods) demand or forbid certain conduct. Why? Not because there is any good or harm in the acts themselves. On the contrary you might be better off to eat ham, or play ball on Sunday, or eat meat on Friday. But you had better do as God requires. For if you please him, he will reward you. If you displease him, he will punish you. In more simple religions these rewards and punishments were experienced in this life, often in the form of "good luck" or "bad luck." In other religions they are postponed to a future world. In any case, the essence of morality is divine command. The function of religion is twofold; to establish the nature of right and wrong and to provide sanctions for the enforcement of its demands. From this point of view, the problem of sex morality is simple. According to both Jewish and Christian tradition God said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" which in popular thought includes fornication. No other reason or basis for sexual morality is necessary. The satisfactions or harm which extra-marital sex conduct may bring are beside the point. Such evils as venereal disease may be pointed out in order to give additional motivation to morality. But essen-

tially, any such consequences are irrelevant. The only important consideration is the command of God.

Although some demands of such religion are of little significance for human welfare, others are of real importance. In all cultures affected by the Judaic-Christian tradition, the Ten Commandments have had a powerful influence in shaping both moral and civil law. "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal" express two essentials for all civilized society. From a social standpoint, the divine sanctions which motivate such standards also contribute to moral results. As Sir George Frazer points out in his excellent discussion in *Man, God and Immortality*, superstition has a real and often contributory place in life. "It has supplied multitudes with a motive . . . for right conduct; and it is surely better . . . that men should do right from wrong motives than that they should do wrong with the best intentions" (pp. 191, 192).

In this book, however, we have defined morality in terms of demonstrable human welfare, not supernatural fiat. Some people may feel that such an approach automatically rules out God and religion, at least if we are honest and consistent. Yet Jesus defined both morality and religion in terms of human welfare and made the motives for right conduct, not fear, but kinship with God. We are rightly suspicious of a religion which consists mainly of superficial practices and beliefs. But religion which has the dimension of depth has a central place in the development of valid sex standards.

#### RELIGION AND THE DIMENSION OF DEPTH

The ordinary person tends to define religion in terms of what he can see—church buildings and activities such as going to church, prayer, and Bible reading. If you pushed him still further he would probably go a bit deeper and define religion in terms of symbols like the cross, ceremonies such as the mass, and creeds. Religion means belief in God, Christ, the Bible. These creeds often embody profound truths about life; truths which, if understood, would give man clues to many of his most baffling problems. But these

truths he rarely understands with any degree of clarity or depth, which is not surprising. Neither do many of his religious leaders. Consequently they are the creeds which he believes, but not the ones he lives by.

Since his religion is a surface affair, often limited largely to one day a week, it cannot give him much guidance about sex morality or anything else. Fortunately the "man in the street" senses that his religion lacks the dimension of depth and does not take it too seriously. The clergy are understandably distressed at this "indifference." But again the average man correctly senses that this concern is more closely related to vested interests than to spiritual values. With him, we heartily agree that religion on the surface level has little to contribute to the establishment of a sound and valid sex code. With those who rightly fear the meddling of uninformed ecclesiastics, we agree that it could be a serious impediment. But when men perceive the dimension of depth embodied in religious affirmations, the potential contribution of religion becomes tremendous and indispensable.

At this point, in order to keep the record straight, it seems advisable to make a statement of my personal attitudes toward religion. For more than twenty years I have taught social sciences at the college level. The more carefully and deeply I have studied human relationships, the clearer it has become that our religious traditions are an important source of knowledge. Religion that lacks the dimension of depth will vary in its moral significance, from pious twaddle to unscrupulous racketeering. But religion's basic truths give many valid and important clues to an understanding of otherwise baffling human problems. As Toynbee and others have pointed out, religious myths are often symbolic expressions of profoundly true observations about human affairs. Their messages are missed, both by those who reject them as childish nonsense and by those who insist upon literal acceptance. But to those who can perceive the basic truths which underly them (which is the dimension of depth) they reveal important insights. In this process of religious discovery, scientific knowledge plays an essential part in enabling

us to separate the wheat from the chaff, and in "spelling out" the truths to which such religious affirmations point.

It would be an unwarranted digression from the purposes of this book to argue the validity of alleged religious truths. I shall, therefore, merely state what I believe to be the contributions of religious insight to the formulation of valid sex standards. "Proof" can be provided only by the most rigorous scrutiny of critically evaluated experience.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF RELIGIOUS INSIGHT TO THE FORMULATION OF A VALID SEX CODE

1. *In its central emphasis upon a moral order of the universe to which all men should conform, religion has laid the essential foundations for morality in sex or in any area of life.*

Basing morality upon some such principle as "the supreme value of personality" may sound intriguing and may even function fairly well with those for whom persons are values. But when a man asks, "Why should I value persons if I don't want to? Why should I not treat people as means, rather than as ends? Why should I not exploit people sexually or any other way if I am willing to assume the personal risks involved?"—a mere value system without religious foundations has no answer.

Religions, however, do have an answer—an answer upon which practically all of them agree. There is a moral order to life—an order based upon that Reality which exists outside of, and independent of, man. Upon this Reality, man is utterly dependent. To its demands he owes allegiance and obedience, regardless of his own personal desires or the demands of his group. In a broader sense, we can no more break a moral law than we can break the law of gravity. We can only break ourselves against it. Stated in terms of traditional Christian theology, this principle means that all men, groups, and institutions stand under the judgment of God.

This God may be conceived of in personal terms, as most Christians do, or in terms of some transcendental principle such as "Karma" or "Divine Love." The practical situation,



in any case, remains essentially the same. We cannot do as we please. Sex conduct, like all behavior, is subject to the moral order of Reality and, therefore, cannot be a "private affair." This principle gives us a sound foundation upon which to build a valid sex code.

*2. Moral righteousness in sex, as in other areas, is an essential for satisfying and enduring human relationships.*

The word "righteousness" is a somewhat slippery word. It is used here because of its prominence in the Old Testament. By it we mean that God demands that our sex conduct shall not damage or harm others, and that it shall support and sustain, rather than weaken or destroy, any valid codes or standards which contribute to the welfare of people.

*3. In identifying love as the greatest thing in the world, Christianity has both indicated a basic human need and helped establish a valid priority system for the place of sex in life.*

The Bible includes two "testaments." The Old Testament emphasizes God as Law (points 1 and 2 above) while the New Testament emphasizes God as Love. Most people are relatively unaware of the very considerable and increasing body of scientific knowledge about love in the Christian sense (the Greek word is *agapé*) which has emerged in recent years. From child study, studies in delinquency, and marital counseling the testimony has poured in. Love is the greatest thing in the world—the basis to a solution of most problems of human relations.

Although such love may, under some circumstances, become mingled with and expressed by sex, love and sex are fundamentally different. A valid sex code would not confuse love needs with sex needs (as so many people do). It would recognize that the basic need of all people is for love. If love needs are met, sexual satisfactions will often become relatively unimportant. On the other hand, offering sex to the love hungry, whether within or outside of marriage, may result in making their condition worse instead of better. The

primary concern of any valid code must be love needs, not mere sexual satisfactions.

4. *The Christian view of man as basically psychic (spiritual) gives us the most reliable clue to the nature of fulfillment and the place of sex in this fulfillment.*

We Americans are puzzled. Historically we have been the most generous nation on earth, at least with such things as food and medical supplies. We were in a position, and were willing, to do much more than Russia could or would. Yet why did China, which could have gone either way, plump for Russia? We just can't understand it.

If our religion had the dimension of depth, we could. We have thought of people as primarily biological animals. If we can supply them with more material things, we can win them over so that they will support us. Our failure has resulted from a basic defect in our theology (as practiced). Material things are important. They have their place. But man is basically spiritual (psychic). As Jesus pointed out, the children of darkness are often wiser in their generation than the children of light. We offered the Chinese material advantages. The Communists offered them hope and a sense of going places in doing something important for themselves. They won because at this point their theology was better. They will lose out ultimately because at other points (righteousness and love) their theology is wrong.

We shall be able to solve our sex problems only if our theology is sound at the point of psychic satisfaction. People who regard humans as fundamentally biological animals will logically be concerned only with the physical consequences of sexual behavior. They may well feel that for those who can guard against unwanted pregnancy and venereal disease, there need be no restrictions upon sex conduct. They will naturally be seriously concerned about opportunities for biological expression. Restrictions upon sexual indulgence they may regard as serious evils, if not outrageous infringements upon basic human rights. They may even demand that society provide everyone with full opportunities for as much

sexual outlet as they may desire. Utopia would be for them a situation of free indulgence without social restraints or qualms of conscience to interfere.

Religion with the dimension of depth would save us from such tragic nonsense. All highly developed religion affirms that man is a child of God and that, as such, he is basically spiritual. Even the doctrine of sin is but the reverse side of the same affirmation. Only those can sin of whom something better is to be expected. Translated in terms of sex issues, this affirmation of religion means that sex desire is to be seen primarily in terms of psychic needs—hopes, frustrations, ego satisfactions, status, and self-respect. The primary consideration must be a feeling of personal worthiness. The great evil is self-rejection. (Neuroses result from attempts to conceal [repression] parts of the self which one cannot accept.) Any sound and valid code must be concerned primarily, not with physical opportunities but with adequate provision for basic psychic needs. For man is basically spiritual.

*5. The Christian ideal of restricting sexual intercourse to marriage carries with it a strong presumption of validity.*

The Christian tradition has carried with it, not only important truths, but some absurd, even immoral demands. Some of them are offered as the commandments of God. But time has been working effectively for discrimination. Christians have been pretty canny about what they would accept or reject. Senseless and invalid demands have been quietly abandoned or chloroformed. Attempts to make sex inherently sinful have been diverted to less extreme positions. But Christianity has never deviated from its ideal that sexual intercourse is best limited to marriage. For many centuries this standard has persisted, under social situations which were both strict and lax. Often it has been violated, even by church leaders in high places. Never has it been abandoned. Such a history carries with it a strong presumption of validity. On so many matters, the "foolishness of God" has proved wiser than the "wisdom of men." We have good rea-

son to believe that the Christian ideal of sex is another "case in point."

6. *Sex is to be properly understood and evaluated, only in terms of its contributions to personal fulfillment and ultimate purposes of God.*

When a discipline is in its infancy, science alone may seem sufficient to handle its problems satisfactorily. But as it grows up and its inescapable relations with other aspects of life become more apparent, it needs concepts which are broad and deep enough to indicate these contexts. Herein lies the task of philosophy and of religion.

A scientist may be likened to a cartographer making an intensive study of a limited area. If this area is a harbor he indicates, not only the contours of the shores, but the rocks, reefs, and shoals and the deep water channels through which large ships can safely proceed. For those who sail only about the bay and immediately-adjacent territory, his work is sufficient. But for those who must take extensive voyages his work, however thoroughly and meticulously done, is hopelessly inadequate. Those who are to sail about the world must have maps of the world. It may well be that such maps are vague and hazy and, at some points, actually misleading, as they were for the great navigators of the fifteenth century. But, if in their broader outlines, they are even reasonably accurate, they are essential.

So it is with the major areas of human experience. For those who navigate only a limited area, who want to know how to cure malaria or syphilis, or to build a bridge which will stay up, the meticulously drawn charts of the scientist are usually all that is necessary. Until recently it was possible for most of us to remain within the constricted areas clearly ascertained by social mores. But in recent years the winds of social change have blown us out of our snug little harbors onto the broad seas of an unpredictable future. For us, now, only the larger maps of religion will suffice. We would have been both happier and safer if we could have waited until all the areas of life had been precisely charted by meticulous



scientists and combined into all-inclusive composites of high accuracy. This was not to be. Therefore, we must use the best maps we have, however defective and misleading. Failing this we shall continue at best to roam the ocean of futility and at worst to pile up again on the reefs of disaster. A sex code which is sound must be able to take its bearings in relationship to a large context of reality and existence.

Religion gives to us that larger view which regards all life and existence as aspects of deeper cosmic purposes which transcend the transient satisfactions and frustrations of us humans. Most Christians will state these purposes in terms of the will of God. Others may prefer to speak of the pressures and trends (evolution) of a manifold infinity, or ultimate reality, or some such concept. Regardless of how they are stated they agree that God, however defined, has what in people we would call purposes or goals, in the light of which moral obligations are ultimately to be judged. Our task is, not to insist upon doing what we enjoy, but to adjust our wishes and values to the demands of these greater cosmic processes of which we are inescapably part. The task of religion is to provide that larger and deeper context which enables us to see our relationships and responsibilities to the demands of those realities which determine our destinies in their most basic and ultimate sense.

People who lack the context of religion may regard sex primarily as potential satisfactions to be appropriated and enjoyed, governed only by a limited prudence. Any other restrictions they will tend to resist as senseless and unjustifiable deprivation. The context of religion will change our whole point of view. We can then see sex as the result of an evolutionary process, covering many hundreds of thousands of years. Nature did not laboriously build all this, just so that we who live now could have fun. There was a much more serious purpose, which was and is to maintain the human race. It is not enough, however, that women be impregnated so that babies may be born. Survival is also a spiritual problem. We must have the kind of people who will cherish and care for the babies so that they survive. We must develop

persons whose spiritual development and maturity is commensurate with their knowledge of technology. Otherwise they may destroy themselves and, perhaps, civilization in senseless conflicts. In the light of a religious context, we see that the purposes of sex can be fulfilled, only by an adequate program of spiritual development and growth. This, as we have seen, requires a certain kind of family life.

The establishment of families which will produce mature persons will require appropriate attitudes. We must be not only willing, but joyously glad to subordinate any personal satisfaction, not only in the sexual, but also in the economic and social areas, to larger social and cosmic ends. Some "injustices" will inevitably result. As on a battlefield some men are "expendable," so among us some groups will be called upon to make sacrifices greater than most people need endure. If these are regarded as concessions to a senseless prudery, they will cause cruel suffering and, often, violent resentments. If seen as necessary contributions to a larger social good, they will be ills which have no weight and tears which express sorrow, but not bitterness.

Only this larger context of a religion which has the dimension of depth will make possible the development of a sex code which can win general acceptance. Obviously, if a moral code has any chance of being generally observed, there must be some agreement as to what this moral code is and demands among those recognized as moral leaders. Among authoritarian groups, only the most limited degree of agreement is possible. For each group is convinced that it alone has the truth in any adequate and complete form. Since this truth has come from God himself, it must not be questioned, examined, or in any way compromised. To some groups God demands one thing (for example, birth control) while to other groups he forbids it. Authoritarian religion not only establishes fundamental moral cleavages, but builds up an intransigence about them which makes it impossible that such cleavages should ever be resolved. Each group is convinced that if only all other groups were fair-minded, and honest, and enlightened, they would give up their divine

revelations and accept the particular one which it espouses. The inevitable result of such conflicting authoritarian claims is an irresolvable moral chaos.

The only possible way out of this moral impasse is a religion which transcends all conflicting authoritarian demands and emerges as a context. This concept of religion as the organizing principle for demonstrable moral law is by no means novel. On the contrary, it is older than Christianity or even Judaism (in any existing form). Many centuries ago the immediate descendants of the great Confucius declared that "moral laws form the same system with the laws by which the seasons succeed each other and the sun and moon appear with alterations of day and night." The general adoption of such an attitude toward morality would make general agreement a real possibility. Such a religion will make no claims other than those which can be substantiated by its own intrinsic validity. It will offer a conceptual framework broad enough to include all the more limited frameworks of the sciences, authoritarian systems, and moral codes and to give meaning, organization, and direction to the whole. It will be rooted deeply enough to withstand the earthquakes of social change, the erosions of time, and to absorb into its own strength the most rigorous and continued free inquiry and investigation.

What of the future of sex standards among us? As all social philosophers know, any culture tends to be dominated by value presuppositions which are so deeply rooted in the subconscious that most members of the culture accept them without question as self-evident. Conflicting value systems are either inconceivable, or are regarded as childish (note the frequent contempt for the older ideas), or even evidence of insanity, sainthood, or perversion, though often these are concepts not carefully distinguished. Our culture has been dominated by what is popularly called a "materialistic" value system. (Sorokin calls this "sensate," Berdyaev, "humanistic-secular," Northrop, "theoretic," and Kroeber, "secular, intellectual-artistic.")

If a man has a chance to get a better (paying) job, or to



raise his own wages through his union demands, or increase his profits by raising his prices, regardless of what it would do to the public, he not only says but feels, "I would be a fool not to take it." Many people feel the same way about sexual satisfactions. Suggest to them that they adopt a sex code which would best strengthen family life, and they will be as horrified and resentful as a bricklayer who is asked to live on the income of a college professor. With us as with most people, trivial values appear as ultimate. Those who question them are variously regarded as hypocrites, fools, "crazy," or are attacked as enemies. The possibility that people might *prefer* other values is inconceivable.

The context of religion enables us to see that other value centers are not only possible, but may be preferable, judged by such criteria as satisfactions, social stability, mental health, and personality growth. In fact, seeking first the kingdom of spiritual values may, by reducing the extent and disaster of conflict, actually make possible more of the material values. In some instances, at least, a restriction of sexual intercourse to marriage may not only protect people from obvious dangers, but actually enhance the satisfactions themselves. In any case, sexual satisfactions are not, and by themselves cannot be, a supreme end of life. If they are to be a blessing rather than a menace, they must be articulated into greater spiritual purposes in and through sound family living.

In giving us this broader vision, religion is somewhat like an airplane. It raises us above our personal and our tribal-authoritarian values, both secular and sacred. From such a point of vantage, Reality appears in larger and more enduring contexts, and, therefore, our personal and social decisions can be sounder and more reliable. One need not be religious to see that so far as our present civilization is concerned, "even now the axe lieth at the root of the tree." The perspective of religion can turn this solemn note of warning into a gospel of hope. The kingdom is at hand in sex as in other areas of experience, or can be, if we see and dedicate ourselves to bringing it about in the context of religious insight.



# Appendix

---



# A Manifesto on Sex Standards<sup>1</sup>

---

## THE SITUATION WE FACE

I. The present situation regarding sex standards is one of uncertainty and confusion. Among the reasons for this, the following may be listed:

- A. Economic and social developments for which no one should be blamed have profoundly changed many aspects of American life.
- B. Partly because of these developments, parts of the older sex code, such as taboos requiring concealment of the body and forbidding discussion of the subject, have been generally abandoned. Such changes inevitably cause people to question the validity of what is left.
- C. In consequence, we no longer have common agreement as to what sex standards should be. Years ago, traditional sex standards were generally upheld, even by those who violated them most flagrantly. What we face today is not so much a difference in practices, but a profound change in attitude toward the standards themselves. Some vigorously defend the core of the older code. Other respectable and accepted leaders seem to regard sex as a "drink of water" or, at most, a "private matter" provided only that certain precautions are observed.
- D. Recent studies of present sex practices give the impression that the older sex standards are on the way out.

In view of such conditions, it is inevitable that people should feel uncertain and confused about the whole matter of sex standards.

---

<sup>1</sup> This Manifesto was formulated in co-operation with students of the University of Illinois during a lecture series given there in 1949 under the auspices of the University Y.M.C.A.

- II. However understandable and inevitable it may have been, continued uncertainty about a matter involving such intense drives and affecting not only youth, but the family and future generations, creates a serious crisis which ought to be resolved as soon as possible.
  - A. As long as we do not know, uncertainty may be a lesser of two evils. Better to be confused than to "know" what is not so. Those who strike out boldly with no light, or with misleading lights, may find the precipice of tragedy, rather than the road to salvation. While sight remains dim or badly distorted, it is better to grope with uncertainties.
  - B. Much of the fog which results in our uncertainty about sex is either self-induced, or can be overcome. People refuse to open their eyes or fail to use the light which is, or could be, available.
- III. Much of our uncertainty about sex standards could be cleared up and ought not to be tolerated any longer.
  - A. The confusion which results from conflicts between traditional and libertarian positions can often be resolved by exposing the fallacies upon which they rest.
  - B. Current practices tell us little about their desirability. Nazism in Germany was a greater evil after "everybody" accepted it than it had been before. If a moral code is sound, it is sound whether anybody observes it or not.
  - C. We already have a growing body of insight and knowledge, sufficient in both reliability and extent, to make possible a code of sex morality which will increasingly be able to stand up under the most rigorous scientific and spiritual tests.
- IV. Sex behavior has results which affect other people and society. Therefore, it is inevitably and inescapably a moral issue. Sex conduct is not, and in our culture cannot be, a "private matter."

#### SOME PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SEX CONDUCT

- I. Sex conduct which is moral must involve a willingness and a reasonable ability to provide adequately for any children which may result.
  - A. The time may come when couples can freely indulge in sex relationships without serious danger of pregnancy. That time



is not yet. Effective methods of birth control can greatly reduce the number of pregnancies which result. Rarely can they prevent them entirely if sex relationships are continued.

- B. Sex relationships can be regarded as moral only when the couple assume that some pregnancies will result and will welcome them when they occur.
- C. The care assured must be far more than economic. Every child has a right to a home with two parents who enjoy the full protection and security of legal marriage and who can provide not only financial support but also a continuity of love, care, and guidance.

## II. Sex conduct which is moral must offer a situation in which emotional involvements can find opportunity for expression and fulfillment.

- A. The experiences of living in our culture build up in most people a constellation of dreams, hopes, and aspirations centered about marriage. Because of her greater need for support in childbirth and because marriage is also for her a major vocation, such feelings are usually stronger in woman than in man.
- B. Because of its known connection with marriage, sexual intercourse is likely to touch off all these powerful pent-up emotions, especially in women. One frequent result is a tremendous and often compulsive emotional involvement with the sexual partner.
- C. If the couple is married, all these feelings have both a place to go and a job to do. If there is no marriage, the sufferings of frustrations can be acute, and the damage to personality, severe. The risks of releasing such powerful emotions without having the relationships of marriage into which to channel them are serious.
- D. Sexual behavior is morally responsible only when, and as, it provides adequate opportunities for the expression and fulfillment of the feelings which it may touch off.

## SEX MORALITY AND FAMILY LIFE

In the final analysis, sex morality hinges upon its effects upon family life. Sex relationships which build and strengthen the family are good. Those which weaken and undermine family life are bad. The bases of this judgment may be summarized as follows:

- A. Family life is an essential industry of any society. For in family life are produced our most important social product—persons who are the future generations. This task includes, but is far more than, physical reproduction. If we needed only human animals we could breed them quite as well, just as we now do cattle, without families.
- B. Society can continue only if certain qualities are built into persons. We need persons who can and will put in more than they take out; persons who would rather create than get; persons who feel no need to constrict or harm others; persons who feel a social responsibility which they place above their own self-interests.
- C. Families are important because of the kind of persons they develop out of babies. If too many people are too greedy or too short-sighted, society is on the skids. If enough are intelligent, cooperative, and socially concerned, society will flourish.
- D. Moral persons are those who believe in and are pledged to the kind of family life which produces good persons and who observe and support the standards of sex behavior which promote this kind of family life.

## PRINCIPLES OF SEX CONDUCT AS RELATED TO FAMILY LIVING

- I. The family is a product of sexual intercourse, not only because of the children which result, but because sex relations help weld husband and wife together into a unity which is the basis of good family living. In good family living, husband and wife come together sexually, not only with the intensity of physical desire and pleasure, but with a joyous and solemn pride in relationships which are of such crucial social importance.
- II. Sexual intercourse outside the family tends to weaken family relations.
  - A. In adultery it tends to divert away from the family, not only money, but the emotional resources which strengthen and support family life.
  - B. Before marriage, sex relations tend to release prematurely emotional feelings which best find their satisfactions and fulfillment in family life.

- C. In either case, sex relations outside of marriage tend to weaken and undermine the social code which safeguards the integrity of family relations.

#### IN SUMMARY

The man and the woman who live secure in each other's love are being faithful to far more than to each other. They are being faithful to the basic foundations of the social structure in which all men are formed and nourished. To marry is to do far more than to take a spouse. It is to take a piece of the social future into your hands. Sound sex morality is behavior which is worthy living in the present and a loyalty to a common future.

## Summary

---

Those who came to this book looking for a manual of directions have perhaps been disappointed. At least, I hope so. My main purpose has been to establish principles basic to a sound approach to the whole subject, not to give detailed instructions. The following is a list of those basic principles which I believe I have established:

1. At our present stage of development, our most important task in sex morals is to block out our problems.
2. Sex morals are a serious problem for all persons capable of making moral judgments, not merely for unmarried youth.
3. Sound sex ethics must be based upon the effects of sex behavior on people, as these can be determined by our best technical research and soundest ethical judgment.
4. Marriage, fornication, and adultery are each, not one situation, but a variety of different situations. A valid sex ethic must be dynamic and capable of making real distinctions among these differences.
5. Sex morals, like all morals, inevitably involve basic philosophical and religious issues. Religion is essentially a context, rather than an authoritarian basis for taboo.



# Bibliography

---

- Ackerman, N. W. Psychotherapy and "giving love." *Psychiat.*, 1944. 7: 129-137.
- Agoston, T. The fear of post-orgiastic emptiness. *Psychoanal. Rev.*, 1946. 33: 197-214.
- Aichorn, August. *Wayward Youth*. New York: The Viking Press, 1935.
- Allen, Frederick L. *Only Yesterday*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1931.
- American Medical Association. Resolution on prostitution of June 12, 1942. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1942. 28: 423.
- . Legal abortion in Russia, *J. Am. Med. Ass.*, February 4, 1933.
- Anderson, Maxwell. *The Essence of Tragedy*. Washington, D. C.: Anderson House, 1941.
- Annals, The American Academy of Political and Social Science. *World Population in Transition*. No. 237. January, 1945.
- Ayres, C. E. *Holier Than Thou*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1929.
- Balint, Michael. On genital love. *Int. J. Psychoanal.*, 1948. 29: 34-80.
- Banay, R. S. and Davidoff, C. Apparent recovery of a sex psychopath after lobotomy. *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, 1942. 4: 59-66.
- Barash, M., *et al.* Sex life of the workers of Moscow. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1926. 12: 278-297.
- Barringer, Emily. Prophylaxis and promiscuity. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1937. 23: 85-87.
- Beach, Frank A. Evolutionary changes in the physiological control of mating behavior in animals. *Psy. Rev.*, 1947. 54: 297-315.
- Becker, Howard and Hill, Reuben. *Family, Marriage and Parenthood*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1948.
- Bender, L. and Blau, A. The reaction of children to sexual relations with adults. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1937. 7: 500-518.
- Benedek, Therese. *Insight and Personality Adjustment*. New York: Ronald Press, 1946.
- Benedek, T. and Rubinstein, B. B. The sexual cycle in women. *Psychosom. Med. Monogr.*, 1942. 3: No. 1 and 2.

- Bergler, Edmund. *Unhappy Marriage and Divorce*. New York: International Universities Press, 1946.
- . Some recurrent misconceptions concerning impotence. *Psychoanal. Rev.*, 1940. 27: 450-466.
- . The problem of frigidity. *Psychiatriat. Quart.*, 1944. 18: 374-390.
- . A short genetic survey of psychic impotence. *ibid.*, 1945. 19: 412-437; 657-676.
- Bernard, Jesse. *American Family Behavior*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942.
- Bertocci, Peter A. *The Human Venture in Sex, Love and Marriage*. New York: Haddam House, Association Press, 1949.
- Best, Charles H. and Taylor, Norman B. *The Physiological Basis of Medical Practice*. Baltimore: William Wood & Co., 1937.
- Bettelheim, Bruno. *Love Is Not Enough*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950.
- Binkley, R. C. and Binkley, F. W. *What Is Right with Marriage?* New York: D. Appleton Co., 1929.
- Bird, Brian. Social hygiene, a psychiatric point of view. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1949. 35: 9-19.
- Blood, Robert O. and Johnson, Guy B. Premarital sexual permissiveness and the romantic complex as mutually exclusive cultural patterns. Unpublished manuscript, 1950.
- Bowman, Henry. *Marriage for Moderns*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1948.
- Brav, Stanley R. Note on honeymoons. *Marriage and Fam. Liv.*, 1947. 9: 60.
- British Social Hygiene Committee. Continence in relation to social hygiene. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1927. 13: 513-524.
- Brogan, A. P. A study in statistical ethics. *Int. J. Ethics*. 1923. 22: 119-134.
- Bromley, D. B. and Britten, F. H. *Youth and Sex: A Study of 1300 College Students*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1938.
- Brown, Fred and Kempton, Rudolph. *Sex Questions and Answers*. New York: Whittlesey House, 1950.
- Bruno, Frank. Social hygiene as a safeguard to family life. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1930. 16: 196-207.
- Buck, Pearl. *The New Generation*. London, 1940.
- Burch, Guy and Pendell, Elmer. *Human Breeding and Survival*. New York: Pelican Books, No. P17. 1947.
- Burgess, E. W. and Cottrell, Leonard. *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.
- Burgess, E. W., and Locke, Harvey. *The Family*. New York: The American Book Co., 1945.

- Butterfield, O. M. *Love Problems of Adolescence*. New York: Emerson, 1939.
- . *Marriage and Sexual Harmony*. *ibid.*, 1934.
- California Department of Public Health and the San Francisco Department of Public Health. A psychiatric approach to the treatment of promiscuity. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1949. 35: 22 ff.
- Calverton, V. F. *The Bankruptcy of Marriage*. New York: Macauley, 1928.
- Chesser, Eustace. *Sex Behavior, Normal and Abnormal*. New York: Royal Publishing House, 1949.
- . *Love Without Fear*. New York: Signet Books, 1949.
- Clark, Colin. *The Conditions of Economic Progress*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940.
- Clark, Le Mon. *Sex and You*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1949.
- Clarke, Charles L. "The Conquest of Venereal Disease." *Hygeia*, 1949. 27: 164-165.
- Clarke, Charles, Di Mario, Marie and Edwards, Mary. How many people have syphilis? *J. Social Hyg.*, 1941. 27: 269-276.
- Clendening, Logan. Sex madness. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1930. 17: 177-180.
- Clothier, F. Treatment of the rejected child. *Nerv. Child*, 1944. 2: 89-110.
- Comfort, Alex. *Sexual Behavior in Society*. New York: Viking Press, 1950.
- Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship. Commission Report on *The Relation of the Sexes*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924.
- Conn, J. H. The aggressive female "psychopathic" personality. *J. Nerv. Ment. Dis.*, 1942. 95: 316-334.
- Cook, Robert C. *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma*. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951.
- Cooke, G. C. Sexual inadequacy. *North Carolina Med. J.*, 1940. 1: 657-661.
- Cousins, Sheila. *To Beg I Am Ashamed*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1938.
- Cowan, John and Guerard, Arthur R. *Love, Health and Marriage*. Revised and edited by William J. Fielding. New York: Avon Book Co., 1948.
- Crissman, P. Temporal change and sexual difference in moral judgments. *J. Soc. Psy.*, 1942. 16: 29-38.
- Davis, K. B. *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1929.
- . Periodicity of sex desire. *Amer. J. Obstet. Gynec.*, 1926. 12: 824-838.

- Dennett, Mary Ware. *The Sex Side of Life*. Astoria, N. Y., 1928.
- Desenberg, Bernard M. Home, sex education and monogamy. *Marriage and Fam. Liv.*, 1947. 9: 89-92.
- de la Mere, Walter. *Love*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1946.
- de Pomerai, R. *Marriage, Past, Present and Future*. London: R. R. Smith, 1930.
- Dickerson, Roy E. *So Youth May Know*. New York: Association Press, 1948.
- Dickinson, R. L. and Beam, L. *A Thousand Marriages*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1931.
- Dooley, L. The genesis of psychological sex differences. *Psychiat.* 1938. 1: 181-195.
- Dreikurs, Rudolph. *The Challenge of Marriage*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1946.
- Duvall, E. M. *Facts of Life and Love*. New York: Association Press, 1950.
- Duvall, S. M. *Before You Marry*. New York: Association Press, 1949.
- . *War and Human Nature*. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1947. Pamphlet No. 125.
- East, E. M. *Mankind at the Crossroads*. New York: Charles Scribners, 1923.
- Eliasberg, W. Remarks on the psychopathology of pornography. *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, 1942. 3: 715-720.
- . The closeup of psychosexual gratification. *J. Nerv. Ment. Dis.*, 1944. 99: 179-195.
- Ellis, Albert. *The Folklore of Sex*. New York: Boni, 1951.
- Ellis, Havelock. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. 4 vols. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1925.
- . *The Psychology of Sex*. New York: Emerson, 1946.
- Farrell, James. *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1932.
- Farnham, Marynia. "Dating, Petting and the \$64 Question." *Pageant*, January, 1951.
- Ferguson, L. W. Correlates of marital happiness. *J. Psy.*, 1938. 6: 285-294.
- . Correlates of woman's orgasm. *ibid.* 295-302.
- Fielding, William J. *Sex and the Love Life*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., 1927.
- Fishbein, Morris and Burgess, E. W. *Successful Marriage*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1947.
- Fischer, John. "India's Insoluble Hunger." *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1945.
- Fitch, Florence. What are our social standards? *J. Social Hyg.*, 1914. 1: 547 ff.



- Flexner, Abraham. *Prostitution in Europe*. New York: Century, 1914.
- Flugel, J. C. *Population, Psychology and Peace*. London: Watts & Co. 1947. Thinkers Library. No. 117.
- Fodor, Nandor and Gaynor, Frank. *Freud, Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950.
- Ford, Clellan S. and Beach, Frank A. *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Hoeber, 1951.
- Frazer, Sir J. G. *Man, God and Immortality*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.
- Freed, Louis F. The changing character of sexual morality. *Marriage Hyg.*, 1948, 1: No. 4.
- French, Thomas M. "Interaction in Family Life." *The Family in a Democratic Society*. Community Service Society of New York: Columbia University Press, 1949.
- Freud, Sigmund. *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*. New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1938.
- Fromm, Erich. *Escape From Freedom*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941.
- . *Man For Himself*. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1947.
- Gardner, Martin. "Beyond Cultural Relativism." *Ethics*, October, 1950.
- Geleerd, E. R. Observations on temper tantrums in children. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1945. 15: 238-246.
- Gillette, John M. and Reinhart, James M. *Problems of a Changing Social Order*. New York: The American Book Co., 1942.
- Ginsberg, Sol. Mental health and the issues of our times. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, April, 1950.
- Gleuck, Sheldon and Gleuck, Eleanor. *Five Hundred Delinquent Women*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934.
- Gordon, Edgar S. "Taking Physical Factors into Account." Becker and Hill. *Family, Marriage and Parenthood*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1948.
- Greenblatt, R. B., Motara, F., and Torpin, R. Sexual libido in the female. *Amer. J. Obstet. Gynec.*, 1942. 44: 658-663.
- Grant, Vernon W. A major problem of human sexuality. *J. Social Hyg.* 1941. 28: 79-101.
- Groves, E. R., Groves, G. H., and Groves, Catherine. *Sex Fulfillment*. New York: Emerson, 1942.
- Groves, E. R. *Conserving Marriage and the Family*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944.
- Guyon, René. *The Ethics of Sexual Acts*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1934 and 1948.
- Guyot, Jules. "A Ritual for Married Lovers." Kling and Kling. *The Marriage Reader*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1947.

- Haggam, M. Sexual desire in tuberculous women. *Amer. Rev. Tubercu.*, 1944. 49: 53-57.
- Haire, Norman. Prostitution: abolition, tolerance or regulation. *Int. J. Sexology*, May, 1948, 1, 4 and Feb., 1949, 2, 3.
- . *Hymen or the Future of Marriage*. London: 1928.
- Hall, Gladys M. *Prostitution in the Modern World*. New York: Emerson, 1936.
- Hall, G. Stanley. *The Psychology of Adolescence*. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton, 1904.
- Hamilton, G. V. *A Research in Marriage*. New York: Boni, 1929.
- Hart, Hornell. *Personality and the Family*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1935.
- Harvey, O. L. Some statistics derived from recent questionnaire studies relative to human sexual behavior. *J. Soc. Psy.* 1932. 3: 97-100.
- . The institutionalization of human sexual behavior: A study of frequency distribution. *J. Abnorm. Soc. Psy.* 1935. 29: 427-433.
- Herzberg, A. *Active Psychotherapy*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1945.
- Hiltner, Seward. Morals, ethics and the purposes of sex. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1948. 7-9.
- Himes, Norman E. *Your Marriage*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940.
- Hirst, J. C. and Strousse, F. Origin of emotional factors in normal pregnant women. *Amer. J. Med. Sci.*, 1938. 196: 95-99.
- Hitschman, E. and Bergler, E. Frigidity in women. *Psychoanalyt. Rev.*, 1949. 36: 45-53.
- Honigmann, John T. Cultural dynamics and sex. *Psychiat.* 1947. 10: 37-47.
- Huxley, Julian. "Population and Human Destiny." *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1950. 201: 38-46.
- Jacobsen, E. A case of sterility. *Psychoanalyt. Quart.* 1946. 15: 330-350.
- Johnson, Bascom. The prostitution "racket." *J. Social Hyg.*, 1939. 25: 209-220.
- . When brothels close, V. D. rates go down. *ibid.* 1942. 28: 525-535.
- Johnson, W. B. and Terman, L. W. Personality characteristics of happily married, unhappily married, and divorced couples. *Char. and Pers.* 1935. 3: 290-311.
- Journal of Social Hygiene. Sex behavior. How shall we define and motivate what is acceptable? A symposium. April, 1950.
- Kammerer, P. G. Social consequences of illegitimacy. *J. Social Hyg.* 1920. 6: 161-180.

- Kanner, Leo. *Child Psychiatry*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1948.
- Keiser, Sylvan. On the psychopathology of orgasm. *Psychoanalyt. Quart.*, 1947. 16: 378-390.
- Kelley, K. Sterility in the female with special reference to psychic factors. *Psychosom. Med.*, 1942. 4: 211-222.
- Kempf, E. J. The significance of the plastic bisexuality of man for medical and social sciences. *Med. Rec. New York*, 1942. 155: 491-494.
- Kinsey, Alfred, Pomeroy, W. B. and Martin, C. E. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.
- Kirkendall, Lester A. *Sex Education as Human Relations*. New York: Inor Publishing House, 1950.
- Kirkpatrick, C. A methodological analysis of feminism in relation to marital adjustment. *The Family*, 1937. 18: 133-137.
- Kling, S. G. and Kling, E. B. *The Marriage Reader*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1947.
- Koch, Richard A. and Wilbur, Ray L. Promiscuity as a factor in the spread of venereal disease. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1944. 30: 517-528.
- Krafft-Ebing, R. *Psychopathia Sexualis*. New York: Pioneer, 1939.
- Krueger, E. T. "A Study of Marriage Incompatibility." *The Family*, 1928. 9: 53-60.
- Kulcher, George V. and Ninnis, Erla I. Tracing the source of infection in syphilis. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1936. 22: 403-411.
- Lake, G. B. Psychic factors in sexual impotence. *Clin. Med. Surg.*, 1938. 45: 467-472.
- Landis, Carney, et al. *Sex in Development*. New York: Hoeber, 1940.
- Landis, C. and Bolles, M. M. *Personality and Sexuality of the Physically Handicapped Woman*. New York: Hoeber, 1942.
- Landis, Judson T. Adjustments after marriage. *Marriage and Fam. Liv.*, 1947. 9: 32-34.
- Landis, J. T. and Landis, Mary G. *Building a Successful Marriage*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948.
- Lastrucci, C. L. "A Reconsideration of the So-Called Sex Instinct." *Social Forces*, December, 1942. 21: No. 2. p. 215.
- League of Nations. Commission on Traffic in Women and Children. *First Report*, 1927.
- Leuba, Clarence. *Ethics in Sex Conduct*. New York: Association Press, 1948.
- Levy, John, and Munroe, Ruth. *The Happy Family*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938.
- Lewis, C. S. *Christian Behavior*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943.
- Licht, H. *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge, 1932.
- Lindsey, Ben B. and Evans, Wainright. *The Revolt of Modern Youth*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925.

- Lion, Jambor, Corrigan and Bradway. An experiment in the psychiatric treatment of promiscuous girls. San Francisco Department of Public Health, 1945.
- Loomis, Frederic. *Consultation Room*. New York: Pocket Books, 1949. No. 654.
- Lundberg, George A. Can science validate ethics? Bull. Amer. Ass. Univ. Prof., Summer, 1950. 36: No. 2.
- Luska, E. *Eros: The Development of Sex Relations through the Ages*. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1915.
- Mace, David. *Does Sexual Morality Matter?* London: Rich and Cowan, 1943.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince*. Translated by N. H. Thomson. Vol. 36 of the Harvard Classics. New York: Collier's, 1910.
- Magoun, F. Alexander. *Love and Marriage*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948.
- Malinowski, B. *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-western Melanesia*. 2 vols. London: Routledge, 1932.
- Malthus, Thomas R. *Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1798.
- Maslow, A. H. Self-esteem (dominance feeling) and sexuality in women. J. Soc. Psy., 1942. 16: 259-294.
- May, Geoffrey. Article on Prostitution. *Encyclopedia of Social Science*. Vol. 12.
- . *Social Control of Sexual Expression*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1930.
- McCance, R. A., Luff, M. C., and Widdowson, E. E. Physical and emotional periodicity in women. J. Hyg., 1937. 37: 571-614.
- Mead, Margaret. *Male and Female*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1949.
- Meaker, Samuel. Quoted in J. Social Hyg., 1932. 18: 239.
- Menninger, K. A. *Love Against Hate*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1942.
- . Impotence and frigidity. Bull. Menninger Clinic, 1937. 1: 251-260.
- . Psychiatric aspects of contraception. *ibid.*, 1943. 7: 36-40.
- Menninger, W. C. The emotional factors in pregnancy. Bull. Menninger Clinic. 1943. 7: 15-24.
- Miles, C. C. "Sex in Social Psychology." Murchison. *A Handbook of Social Psychology*. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1935.
- Milliken, Rhoda J. "The Sex Offender's Victim." *Federal Probation*. Vol. 14, No. 3. September, 1950, pp. 22-26.
- Morlock, Maud. *The Fathers of Children Born Out of Wedlock*. Mimeographed Report of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, March 1, 1939.
- Mowrer, H. R. Sex as a factor in domestic discord. Amer. Soc. Rev., 1936. 1: 252-263.



- Murdock, George P. Sex behavior; A comparative anthropological approach. *J. Social Hyg.*, 36: 133-136.
- . Quoted in *Time Magazine*, February 13, 1950.
- Myerson, A. and Neustadt, R. The bisexuality of man. *J. Mt. Sinai Hosp.*, New York, N. Y., 1942. 9: 668-678.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. *Population, a Problem for Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.
- Neumann, Henry. Marriage and morals. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1934. 22: 102-114.
- Newcomb, T. M. Recent changes in attitudes toward sex and marriage. *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, 1937. 2: 659-667.
- Newsholme, Sir Arthur. The moral aspects of social hygiene. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1923. 9: 532 ff.
- Nimkoff, Meyer. *Marriage and the Family*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.
- Oltman, J. E. and Friedman, S. Acute heterosexual inadequacy. In the male, *Psychiat. Quart.*, 1938. 12: 669-678. In the female, *ibid.*, 1940. 14: 194-204.
- Pearl, R. Pregnancy rates and coitus rates. *Human Biol.*, 1940. 12: 545-558.
- Plato. *Republic* (Jowett translation). New York: Modern Library, No. 153, Random House, Inc.
- Podolsky, E. The causes and management of what is termed frigidity. *Med. World*, 1946. 64: 265-266.
- . Sexual neurosis in soldiers not an uncommon condition. *ibid.*, 64: 15-17.
- Popenoe, P. Marital counseling with special reference to frigidity. *Marriage Hyg.*, 1937. 4: 36-46.
- Porterfield, A. L. and Salley, H. E. Current folkways of sexual behavior. *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1946. 52: 209-216.
- Ramsey, P. *Basic Christian Ethics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- Reckless, Walter C. *The Crime Problem*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.
- . "Prostitution in the United States." Fishbein and Burgess. *Successful Marriage*, Pt. V, ch. ii.
- Reich, W. "The Discovery of the Orgone," Vol. 1. *The Function of the Orgasm: Sex Economic Problems of Biological Energy*. New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1942.
- Reik, Theodor. *Psychology of Sex Relations*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945.
- Ribble, Margaret. *The Rights of Infants*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

- Rice, Otis. Ethical elements in the etiology of the unstable family. *J. of Pastoral Work*, 1949. 53 ff.
- Robbins, L. L. Suggestions for the psychological study of sterility in women. *Bull. Menninger Clinic*, 1943. 1: 41-44.
- Roche, Phillip Q. *Sexual Deviations*. Federal Probation, Vol. 14. September, 1950. 3-11.
- Rock, John and Loth, David. *Voluntary Parenthood*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1949.
- Roheim, Geza. The oedipus complex and infantile sexuality. *Psychoanalyt. Quart.*, 1946. 15: 503-508.
- Rosanoff, A. J. Human sexuality, normal and abnormal, from a psychiatric standpoint. *Urol. Cutan. Rev.*, 1929. 33: 523-530.
- Russell, Bertrand. "The Harm Which Good Men Do." *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1926.
- . *Marriage and Morals*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1929.
- Russell, Dora. *The Right To Be Happy*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1927.
- Sadler, W. S. and Sadler, L. K. *The Sex Life*. 2 vols. Chicago: American Publishing Corp., 1938.
- Salmon, N. J. and Geist, S. H. Effect of androgens upon libido in women. *J. Clin. Endocrin.*, 1943. 3: 235-238.
- Sanger, Margaret. "The Honeymoon." Pt. VI. Kling and Kling. *The Marriage Reader*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1947.
- Sapir, E. Observations on the sex problem in America. *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, 1928. 8: 519-534.
- Sbarbaro, John A. *Marriage Is On Trial*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.
- Schapiro, B. Modern concepts of the problem of impotence. *Med. Rec.*, 1942. 155: 280-282.
- Scheinfeld, Amram. *You and Heredity*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1939.
- Schmalhausen, Samuel. *Why We Misbehave*. New York: Macauley Co., 1928.
- Schroeder, T. Attitude of one amoral psychologist. *Psychoanalyt. Rev.*, 1944. 31: 329-335.
- Selwyn, Amy. "Does 'Rhythm' Work in Birth Control?" *Coronet*, November, 1950.
- Seward, Georgene H. *Sex and the Social Order*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946.
- . The female sex rhythm. *Psy. Bull.*, 1934. 31: 153-192.
- Sherif, M. and Cantril, H. *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1947.
- Slater, E. Neurosis and sexuality. *J. Neuro. Psy.*, 1945. 8: 12 ff.

- Sloane, P. and Karpinski, E. Effects of incest on the participants. *Amer. J. Orthopsy.*, 1942. 12: 666-674.
- Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. New York: The Modern Library, 1937.
- Snow, W. F. The newest generation, *J. Social Hyg.*, 1936. 22: 193-202.
- Stekel, W. *Fridigity in Woman In Relation To Her Love Life*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1926.
- . *Impotence In The Male. ibid.*, 1927.
- Stoller, A. Sexual deviation in the male. *Med. Pract.*, 1947. 216: 262-268.
- Stone, Hannah and Stone, Abraham. *A Marriage Manual*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1935.
- Stopes, M. C. *Married Love*. New York: Eugenics Publishing Co., 1931.
- Terman, L. M. *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938.
- Thompson, Warren S. *Population Problems*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1942.
- Tietz, E. B. and Weichert, C. K. *The Art and Science of Marriage*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938.
- Tooker, Helen V. "Venereal Disease—Far From Beaten." *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1944.
- Turner, E. C. H. The psychosomatic sexual life of the family; a psychosomatic study of suckling and coitus. *J. Ment. Sci.*, 1947. 93: 522-547.
- Tyrer, Alfred H. *Sexual Satisfaction and Happy Marriage*. New York: Emerson, 1946.
- Unwin, J. D. *Sexual Regulation and Human Behavior*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1933.
- Valtin, Jan. *Out of the Night*. New York: Alliance Book Corp., 1941.
- Vonderlehr, R. A. "Venereal Diseases." Fishbein and Burgess. *Successful Marriage*, Pt. V, ch. v.
- Walker, Kenneth. *The Physiology of Sex*. New York: Penguin Books, 1946.
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Lunt, Paul S. *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. See also other *Yankeetown* studies.
- Watson, G. and Green, G. Scientific studies and personal opinion on sex questions. *J. Abnor. Soc. Psy.*, 1932. No. 22. 27: 130-146.
- Webb, M. L. Delinquency in the making. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1943. 28: 502-510.
- Weiss, E. and English, O. S. *Psychosomatic Medicine*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1943.

- Westermarck, Edward. *The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937.
- White, A. D. *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton, 1896.
- Whyte, W. F. A slum sex code. *Amer. J. Soc.*, 1943. 49: 24-31.
- Wittkower, E. D., and Cowan, J. Aspects of sexual promiscuity. *Psychom. Med.*, 1944. 6: 287-294.
- Women Writers. "Sex Isn't Necessary?" *Quick*, April 2, 1951.
- Wood-Allen, Mary. *What a Young Girl Ought to Know*. London: Vir Publishing Co., 1905.
- Woodside, Moya. Orgasm capacity among two hundred English working-class wives. *Marriage Hyg.*, 1948. No. 3. 1: 134 ff.
- . Psychological and sexual aspects of sterilization in women. *Marriage and Fam. Liv.*, 1949. 11: 72-73.
- Woolston, Howard B. *Prostitution in the United States*. New York: Century Co., 1921.
- Wortis, J. Sex taboos, sex offenders and the law. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1939. 9: 554-565.
- Wright, Helena. *The Sex Factor in Marriage*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1937.
- Yarros, Rachel. Social hygiene observations in Soviet Russia. *J. Social Hyg.*, 1930. 16: 449-464.
- Young, Kimball. *Sociology*. New York: American Book Co., 1942.
- Young, P. T. *Emotion in Man and Animal*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943.



# General Index

- Abnormalities, sexual, viii, 56, 60, 69  
 Abortions: in U.S., 80, in Soviet Russia, 260, 268  
 Adultery  
   Channeling of feelings in, 159, 162f.  
   Christianity and, 7  
   Compulsions expressed by, 159  
   Defended, 85, 86, 165  
   Defined, 151, 152  
   Emotional involvements and, 162, 163  
   Family life and, 167, 168, 277  
   Financial factors in, 158, 165  
   Fornication compared to, 161, 166  
   Importance of, as a problem, 150, 151  
   Love and, 158  
   Motivations for, 157-159  
   Physical effects of, 159, 160, 162  
   Psychological results of, 162, 163  
   Results of, summarized, 166-170, 316  
   Types of, 152-157  
   Venereal diseases and, 161, 162  
 Agapé, 272, 303  
 American Medical Association, 233  
 Birth control  
   Effectiveness of, 80, 315  
   And religion, 298, 308  
 Bridal night: significance of, 88f.  
 British Social Hygiene Committee, 74  
 "Call Girls," 214, 285  
 Channeling of feelings, 82, 84, 88-90f., 99-101, 138, 139, 159, 162f., 181, 187, 198, 202, 216, 217  
 Chaperonage, 14, 15, 145  
   Decline of, 22, 23  
 Chastity and continence, 184, 292-296  
   Effects upon men, 78-76  
   Objections to, 35, 86, 113, 173, 204, 296  
   Older unmarried women and, 186-188  
   Rewards to women for, under older code, 9, 11  
 Children  
   Effects of sexual approaches upon, 87, 200  
   Love toward, and incest, 91-93  
   Responsibility for having, 253f.  
   Rights of, 190, 238-243  
   Significance for marriage and family, 134-138, 243  
   Technical problems concerning, 246  
 Communist Manifesto, 260  
 Compulsions and sex, 69, 159, 203. *See also* Channeling of feelings  
 Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, 321  
 Confusion regarding sex standards, vii, ix, 4, 5, 29, 110, 239, 313, 314  
   Values of, 29, 314  
 Conscience, 119, 231. *See also* Guilt feelings  
 Constance, Council of, 212, 213  
 Democracy and sex standards, 23, 25, 252  
 Detumescence, 69, 85  
 "Double standard" of morality, 9, 10, 22, 110  
 Economic factors in sex, 11, 22, 54, 77, 117, 118, 147, 158, 165, 186, 218, 219, 240, 241, 258, 277, 313  
 Electra complex, 194f.  
 Emotional involvement, 97, 315  
   In adultery, 162, 163  
   In fornication, 182, 183  
   In marriage, 139-141, 148  
   In prostitution, 210f.  
   For unmarried women, 188, 210, 211, 295  
 Extramarital relations, *see* Sex standards  
 Facts and values, 44-47  
 Family and family living  
   And adultery, 167, 168, 316  
   Economic basis of, 258  
   Economic responsibilities of, 240-242  
   Fornication and, 183-185, 316  
   Love and, 272-276  
   Opposition to, 259-264  
   Prostitution and, 217, 228  
   Result of sex relations, 106-108, 145, 149  
   Sex codes and, 7, 26, 175, 257, 315-317  
   Social functions of, 253, 259, 269-276  
   In Soviet Russia, 260, 268  
   Vital contributions of, 264-276, 316  
   Will the family survive? 253, 261f.  
 Fornication  
   Channeling of feelings in, 181  
   Compared with adultery, 161, 166, 295  
   Family life and, 183-185  
   Financial costs of, 186  
   Love and, 180-188

**Fornication—Continued**

- Major issues of, 190
- Normal forms of, 175-177
- Pregnancy and, 178, 179
- Psychological results of, 180
- Risks of, 185, 186
- Social results of, 183f.

Frigidity and impotence, 69-73, 76, 102, 128, 129

Guilt feelings, 29, 61, 101, 102, 172

- And adultery, 163, 164, 284
- Incest taboos and, 196
- In marriage, 124, 147
- Pregnancy and, 103

Health, effects of continence and sexual intercourse upon, 73, 74

Heredity, 239

Hetero-sexual shift, 202

Homosexuality, 60

Impotence, *see* Frigidity

Incest, 193f.

- Attitudes toward, 35, 75, 102
- Justification for taboos on, 197
- Love for children and, 91-93
- Nature of, 194
- "Normality" of, 194-197, 205, 206

Legitimacy and illegitimacy, 134, 135, 153, 244

And adultery, 165f.

Libertarianism, 35-39

Libido (Sex desire)

- Adultery and, 159, 160
- Basis of, 68
- In men, 8, 68, 69, 127, 142, 148, 172, 178
- Nature of, 37, 38, 100, 172
- Significance of attitudes for, 69, 75, 84, 85
- In women, 70-73, 128, 148, 178, 187, 215

Love

- As agapé, 272, 303
- Adultery and, 158
- Children and, 186-188
- Family life and, 272-276
- Fornication and, 178-183
- Marriage and, 125, 130, 131, 141
- Need for, 246, 247, 272
- Not monogamous, 96, 97, 146
- Sex and, 90-92, 94-97, 141-145, 303

Marriage

- Attitudes within, 125-127
- Channeling of feelings within, 133, 139
- Emotional involvement in, 139-141
- Love in, 125, 130, 131, 141
- Pregnancy and, 133, 134
- Sex relations and, 124f., 143-145
- Social code and, 145, 146
- Values to the individual, 146, 147
- Veneral disease and, 181, 182

Masturbation, viii, 18, 60, 68, 74, 95

Maturity, importance of, 51

Mental health, importance of, 51

Morality

- As probable consequences, 120
- Comparative nature of, 114
- General disregard for, vii, ix, 296
- Metaphysical basis of, 309f.
- Nature of, 51-55, 112, 282, 283
- Non-morality, 41, 283-289

**Morality—Continued**

- Social code and, 109, 114
- Technical nature of, 51, 52, 246

Motherhood

- As a sexual outlet, 13, 14
- As sexual fulfillment, 13

Oedipus complex, 194f.

Orgasm, *see* Libido, Frigidity and impotence

Parents, characteristics of good, 243-248

Petting, 21, 59, 60, 61, 190

Philosophy, significance of, 44, 46, 281, 306, 307

Population problems, 243-252

Pleasure and physical release in sex, 67, 148

Effects of attitudes on, 69, 75, 84, 85, 87

Basis of satisfactions, 85

Sex as "fun," 66, 67; satisfactions in adultery, 159-161; fornication, 178; marriage, 127-130; prostitution, 215

Pregnancy, 7, 35, 37, 58, 61, 107, 815

Adultery and, 165, 166

Fornication and, 178, 179

As fulfillment, 13

Health and, 81

Marriage and, 133, 134, 288

Population problems and, 248f.

Probabilities of, 78-80

Psychological results of, 13, 102-104

Prostitution, 12, 19, 35, 67, 95, 108, 117

Antiquity of, 212

Channeling of feelings in, 216, 217

Defense of, 223-225

Demoralization resulting from, 277

Economic causes for, 218, 219

Economic returns from, 215, 220

Family life and, 217, 228

Forms of, 213-217

Integral part of older code, 9, 10, 17, 209, 223

Interest in, 207, 208

Love in, 216

Political corruption and, 229-232

Probable continuance of, 209-212

Regulation of, 230-236

Research, need for, 212

Turn over in, 220, 221

Veneral disease and, 226, 227, 233-235

Why women enter, 217-220

Religion

As a sexual outlet, 12

As a source of knowledge, 301

Contributions to a valid sex code, 24, 302-308, 310

Dimension of depth in, 300, 301

Historical relationship to sex, 7, 8

Reluctance to consider, 298, 299

Sanctions as a basis of morality, 236, 299, 300

Romanticism as a sexual outlet, 13, 15

Scientific approach to sex standards, 31

Contrasted with libertarianism, 35-38; theological-ecclesiastical position, 38-40; social comparison position, 40-43

Essentials of, 52-55

Nature of, 47-52

Sex and sex conduct

Deeper purposes of, 106, 307f.

**Sex and sex conduct—Continued**

- "Main line" conduct, 58-60
- Nature of, 58-60
- Present attitudes toward, 28-31
- Scientific approach to, 81, 89
- "Side line" conduct, 60
- Social basis of attitude toward, 86
- State of knowledge concerning, 55-58
- Sex appeal, nature of, 65, 66
- Sex code, older
  - Actual and ideal, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 109, 110
  - Family life and, 7
  - Effectiveness of, 16
  - How maintained, 10-12, 24
  - Male domination and, 8f.
  - Purposes of, 7-17
  - What it was, 6-17
- Sex education and knowledge, vii, ix, 2, 18, 19, 290
- Sex standards
  - Changes in, and causes therefor, vii, 19-26
  - Compromise nature of, 54, 55, 289, 297
  - Confusion regarding, vii, 4, 5, 29, 110, 289, 313, 314
  - Democracy and, 23, 25, 252
  - Extramarital relations, 292-296
  - Family life and, 276-278
  - How created, 110-112
  - Manifesto on, 313-317
  - Need for clarity of purpose, 292
  - Our task in building, 289-292
  - Precision, need for regarding, 53-55
  - Prospects of, 26, 27, 296, 297
  - Questions concerning, 113
  - Supports for, 27, 28
  - Values of, 115, 116
  - Variations in application of, 117
  - War and, 25, 209, 252, 253
  - Youth and, 113

**Sexual intercourse**

- Age differences and morality of, 201-205
- Channel for feelings, 82, 88-90, 99-101, 187, 202
- Compensatory, 100, 101, 202
- Costs of, 117-119
- Family life and, 106-108
- Love and, 141-145
- Success in marriage and, 143-145
- Social classes and sex codes, 86, 110, 172-174
- Incest and, 196, 198
- Taboos and social codes
  - Breakdown in, 19-21, 24
  - Discussion and modesty taboos, vii, 10, 15
  - Family life and, 174, 175
  - How developed, 110-112
  - Nature of, 109f.
  - Relationship to moral code, 109, 114
  - Values of, 113-116
- Veneral diseases, 85, 37, 61, 76, 304
  - Chances of in adultery, 161, 162; fornication, 178; marriage, 131, 132, 148; occasional prostitution, 215f.; commercialized prostitution, 226f., 233, 234
  - Extent and seriousness of, 77
  - How contracted, 76, 77, 81
- Vocation, number of in U.S., 253
- War, influence of on sex conduct, 25, 209, 252, 253
- What shall we teach our children? 297
- "White slavery," 213, 230
- Women
  - Sexual interests of, *see* Frigidity and impotence, and Libido
  - subjugation of, 11, 12

# Index of Names

---

- Abraham, 153, 194, 293  
 Ackerman, N. W., 187, 319  
 Agoston, T., 319  
 Aichorn, A., 273, 319  
 Allen, Frederick, 20, 319  
 Allen, Hervey, 201  
 Anderson, Maxwell, 319  
*Anna Karenina*, novel by Tolstoy, 151  
*Anthony Adverse*, novel by H. Allen, 201  
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 49  
 Aristotle, 48, 50, 51, 252  
 Augustine, 49, 125  
 Ayres, C. E., 40, 319  
  
 Balint, Michael, 85, 319  
 Balzac, Honore, 24, 67  
 Banay, R. S., 319  
 Barash, M., 260, 319  
*Barretts of Wimpole Street*, novel by  
     Rudolf Besier, 195  
 Barringer, Emily, 189, 319  
 Basil, St., 151  
 Beach, Frank, 319, 323  
 Beam, L., 56, 143, 322  
 Becker, Howard, 259, 319  
 Belfield, William, 227  
 Bender, L., 87, 200, 319  
 Benedek, T., 73, 101, 102, 319  
 Berdyaev, Nikolai, 309  
 Bergler, E., 73, 96, 102, 320, 324  
 Bernard, Jessie, 74, 320  
 Bertocci, Peter, 113, 320  
 Besier, Rudolf, 195  
 Best, C. H., 65, 320  
 Bettelheim, Bruno, 291, 320  
 Bible, references to, 7, 24, 67, 94, 130,  
     151, 153, 194, 212, 300, 303  
 Binkley, F. W. and R. C., 167, 320  
 Bird, Brian, 236, 320  
 Blau, A., 87, 200, 319  
 Blood, Robert, 113, 320  
 Boccaccio, 24, 67, 151, 164  
 Bolles, N. M., 325  
 Bowman, Henry, 118, 135, 320  
 Bradway, K. P., 99, 326  
 Brav, S. R., 88, 320  
 Brill, A. A., 25  
 Britten, F. H., 56, 320  
 Brogan, A. P., 44  
 Bromley, D. B., 56, 320  
 Brontë, Charlotte, 151  
 Brown, Fred, 320  
  
 Bruno, Frank, 113, 320  
 Buck, Pearl, 153, 252, 320  
 Burch, Guy, 249, 252, 253, 320  
 Burgess, E. W., 212, 259, 266, 268, 320,  
     322, 329  
 Butterfield, O. M., 143, 321  
  
 Calverton, V. F., 113, 150, 264, 321  
 Cantril, H., 95, 216, 323  
 Carey, E., 242  
 Carnegie, Dale, 186  
 Charles Martel, 153  
*Cheaper by the Dozen*, biography by F.  
     Gilbreth and E. Carey, 242  
 Chesser, Eustace, 321  
 Clark, Colin, 250, 321  
 Clark, Le Mon, 113, 321  
 Clarke, Charles, 77, 321  
 Clendening, Logan, 113, 321  
 Cleveland, Grover, 117  
 Clothier, F., 137, 321  
 Comfort, Alex, 321  
 Confucius, 309  
 Conn, J. H., 70, 321  
 Constantine, 153  
 Cook, Robert C., 249, 321  
 Cooke, G. C., 73, 321  
 Cooper, Dr. Arthur, 73  
 Corrigan, G. H., 99, 326  
 Cottrell, L., 266, 320  
 Cousins, Sheila, 95, 321  
 Cowan, J., 99, 143, 321, 330  
 Crissman, P., 321  
  
 Davidoff, C., 319  
 Davis, K. B., 56, 73, 266, 321  
*Decameron*, book by Boccaccio, 151  
 de la Mere, Walter, 322  
 de Maupassant, Guy, 24  
 de Pomerai, R., 263, 264, 322  
 Dennett, Mary Ware, 322  
 Desenberg, B. M., 159, 322  
 Dickerson, Roy E., 113, 322  
 Dickinson, R. L., 56, 143, 322  
 Di Mario, M., 77, 321  
 Dooley, L., 322  
 Dreikurs, Rudolph, 98, 322  
 Duvall, E. M., xi, 113, 201, 322  
 Duvall, S. M., 182, 258, 322  
  
 East, E. M., 249, 322



- East Lynne*, novel by Mrs. Henry Wood, 12  
 Edwards, M., 77, 321  
*Ellen Rogers*, novel by James Farrell, 115  
 Eliasberg, W., 85, 100, 322  
 Ellis, Albert, 322  
 Ellis, Havelock, 68, 70, 88, 97, 98, 322  
 English, O. S., 71, 329  
 Evans, W., 264, 326  
  
 Farnham, Marynia, 118, 185, 294, 296, 322  
 Farrell, James, 115, 150  
 Ferguson, L. W., 69, 322  
 Fielding, William, 74, 322  
 Fischer, John, 248, 251, 322  
 Fishbein, Morris, 212, 259, 322, 329  
 Fitch, Florence, 23, 322  
 Flaubert, Gustave, 151  
 Flexner, Abraham, 209, 218-221, 227-235, 323  
 Flugel, J. C., 253, 323  
 Fodor, Nandor, 323  
 Ford, C. S., 323  
 Frazer, James G., 83, 300, 323  
 Freed, L. F., 9, 53, 323  
 French, Thomas M., 323  
 Freud, Sigmund, 25, 86, 91, 93, 194, 205, 323  
 Friedman, S., 73, 327  
 Fromm, Eric, 44, 291, 323  
 Fulcomer, David, xi  
  
 Gardner, Martin, 41, 323  
 Gaynor, F., 323  
 Geist, S. H., 70, 323  
 Geleerd, E. R., 187, 323  
 Gilbreth, F. A., 242  
 Gillette, J. M., 184, 323  
 Ginsberg, Sol, 47, 323  
 Glueck, Eleanor and Sheldon, 99, 323  
 Gordon, E. S., 143, 323  
 Grant, V. W., 67, 323  
 Green, G., 329  
 Greenblatt, R. B., 70, 323  
 Groves, E. R., G., and C., 104, 323  
 Guerard, A., 143, 321  
 Guyon, René, 150, 224, 261, 323  
 Guyot, Jules, 73, 83, 323  
  
 Haggam, M., 68, 70, 324  
 Haire, Norman, 118, 165, 228-226, 264, 286, 295, 324  
 Hall, G. Stanley, 12, 324  
 Hall, Gladys, 209, 324  
 Hamilton, G. V., 56, 69, 266, 324  
 Hart, Hornell, 85, 113, 153, 324  
 Harvey, O. L., 26, 324  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 151, 164, 290  
 Heggen, Thomas, 172  
 Heraclitus, 50  
 Herzberg, A., 84, 324  
 Hill, Reuben, xi, 113, 259, 319  
 Hiltner, Seward, xi, 106, 324  
 Himes, Norman, 324  
 Hirst, J. C., 70, 324  
 Hitler, Adolph, 28, 29, 287  
 Hitschman, E., 73, 102, 324  
 Honigman, J. T., 86, 324  
 Hoyman, Howard S., xi  
 Howe, E. W., 9  
 Hume, David, 42  
 Huxley, Julian, 249, 324  
  
 Jacobsen, E., 73, 324  
 Jambor, H. M., 99, 326  
*Jane Eyre*, novel by Charlotte Brontë, 151  
 Jesus, 291, 300, 304  
 Johnson, Bascom, 232, 235, 324  
 Johnson, Guy B., 113, 324  
 Johnson, W. B., 324  
 Justinian, 221  
  
 Kammerer, P. G., 324  
 Kanner, Leo, 137, 325  
 Kant, Immanuel, 42, 111, 112  
 Karpinski, E., 196, 198, 329  
 Kefauver, Estes, 229, 280  
 Keiser, Sylvan, 70, 325  
 Kelley, K., 73, 325  
 Kempf, E. J., 85, 325  
 Kempton, R., 320  
 Kinsey, Alfred, xi, 16, 21, 23, 56, 57, 68, 71, 72, 108, 110, 181, 182, 201, 208-210, 226, 239, 325  
 Kipling, Rudyard, 40  
 Kirkendall, Lester A., 113, 325  
 Kirkpatrick, C., 104, 325  
*Kitty*, novel by R. Marshall, 166, 220  
*Kitty Foyle*, novel by Christopher Morley, 98  
 Kling, S. G. and E. B., 325  
 Koch, Richard, 178, 234, 286, 325  
 Krafft-Ebing, R., 325  
 Kroeber, A. L., 309  
 Kreuger, E. T., 144, 325  
 Kulcher, G. V., 178, 325  
 Kynaston, Francis, 94  
  
 Lake, G. B., 73, 325  
 Landis, Carney, 70, 163, 325  
 Landis, Judson, 71, 72, 74, 80, 180, 144, 325  
 Landis, Mary, 74, 80, 325  
 Lastrucci, C. L., 37, 325  
 Lenin, Nikolai, 260  
 Leuba, Clarence, 6, 325  
 Levy, John, 74, 100, 325  
 Lewis, C. S., 21, 325  
 Lexow, Clarence, 229  
 Licht, H., 325  
 Lindsay, Ben, 264, 325  
 Lion, E. G., 99, 326  
 Locke, Harvey, 259, 268, 320  
 Logan, Joshua, 172  
 Loomis, F., 127, 326  
 Loth, David, 79, 80, 328  
 Luff, M. C., 73, 326  
 Lundberg, G. A., 44, 326  
 Lunt, P. S., 174, 329  
 Luska, E., 91, 326  
 Luther, Martin, 68  
 Lyman, R. A., 185  
  
*Macbeth*, 281  
 Mace, David, xi, 118, 326  
 Machiavelli, Niccolo, 287, 288, 326  
 Macmurray, John, 294  
*Madam Bovary*, novel by G. Flaubert, 151  
 Magoun, F. A., 101, 326  
 Malinowski, B., 326  
 Malthus, Thomas R., 249, 251, 326  
 Marshall, Rosamond, 166, 220  
 Martin, W. B., 325  
 Maslow, A. H., 70, 101, 326  
 Matthews, William, xi  
 May, Geoffrey, 212, 326

- McCance, R. A., 78, 826  
 McDougall, William, 252  
 Mead, Margaret, 71, 128, 167, 168, 826  
 Meaker, Samuel, 326  
 Menninger, Karl, 78, 81, 84, 100, 103, 826  
 Menninger, William C., 78, 826  
 Miles, C. C., 85, 826  
 Milliken, Rhoda, 826  
 Moll, A., 199  
 Montaigne, Michel, 68  
 Morley, Christopher, 98  
 Morlock, Maud, 137, 826  
 Motara, F., 70, 828  
 Mother Goose, 280  
 Mowrer, H. R., 144, 826  
*Mr. Roberts*, play by T. Heggen and J. Logan, 172  
 Munroe, Ruth, 74, 100, 825  
 Murdock, G. P., 118, 168, 178, 295, 827  
*My Wild Irish Rose*, song by C. Olcott, 94  
 Myerson, A., 85, 827  
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 258, 327  
  
 Neumann, Henry, 827  
 Neustadt, R., 85, 327  
 Newcomb, T. M., 327  
 Newsholme, A., 118, 182, 286, 827  
 Nietzsche, Frederick, 85  
 Nimkoff, Meyer, 259, 827  
 Ninnis, E., 178, 825  
 Northrop, F. S. C., 809  
  
 Oltman, J. E., 78, 327  
  
 Pearl, R., 79, 827  
 Pendell, E., 249, 252, 253, 320  
 Pitkin, Walter, 252  
 Plato, 259-261, 268, 327  
 Podolsky, E., 78, 102, 827  
 Pomeroy, W. B., 325  
 Popenoe, Paul, 78, 327  
 Porterfield, A. L., 21, 827  
 Powys, L., 86  
 Protagoras, 51  
  
 Ramsey, Paul, 827  
 Reckless, W. C., 212, 218, 219, 227, 229, 327  
 Reich, W., 78, 327  
 Reik, Theodor, 85, 95, 100, 102, 129, 143, 327  
 Reinhart, J. M., 184, 828  
 Ribble, Margaret, 98, 186, 827  
 Rice, Otis, 828  
 Robbins, L. L., 78, 328  
 Roche, P. Q., 328  
 Rock, John, 79, 80, 328  
 Roheim, Geza, 194, 328  
 Rosanoff, A. J., 85, 828  
 Rubenstein, B. B., 78, 102, 819  
 Russell, Bertrand, 85, 118, 150, 152, 828  
 Russell, Dora, 118, 150, 152, 828  
  
 Sadler, W. S. and L. K., 148, 828  
 Salley, E. E., 21, 827  
 Salmon, N. J., 70, 328  
 Sanger, Margaret, 88, 828  
 Sapir, E., 26, 328  
 Sbarbo, John A., 247, 828  
 Schapiro, B., 78, 328  
 Scheinfeld, Amram, 289, 828  
 Schmalhausen, S., 118, 150, 328  
 Schroeder, T., 286, 828  
  
 Seabury, Samuel, 229  
 Selwyn, Amy, 80, 828  
 Seward, Georgene, 78, 86, 88, 101, 328  
 Shakespeare, Wm., 24, 96, 281  
 Shaw, G. B., 238  
 Sherif, M., 95, 216, 828  
 Sinclair, Upton, 280  
 Slater, E., 85, 828  
 Sloane, P., 196, 198, 829  
 Smith, Adam, ix, 329  
 Snow, W. F., 118, 329  
 Socrates, 199  
 Solon, 212  
 Sorokin, Pitirim, 809  
 Spencer, Herbert, 89  
 Stall, Sylvanus, 18  
 Steffens, Lincoln, 229, 280  
 Stekel, W., 71, 78, 329  
 Stokes, Mack B., xi  
 Stoller, A., 60, 829  
 Stone, Hannah and Abraham, 74, 88, 329  
 Stone, Ursula, xi  
 Stopes, M. C., 71, 78, 88, 329  
 Strousse, F., 70, 824  
 Sumner, W. G., 56, 88  
  
 Tarbell, Ida, 280  
 Taylor, Norman, 68, 320  
 Tennyson, Alfred, 168  
 Terman, L. M., 22, 56, 69, 87, 88, 144, 266, 824, 829  
 Theodora, 221  
 Thompson, W. S., 249, 829  
 Tietz, E. B., 71, 829  
 Tolstoy, Leo, 151  
 Tooker, Helen V., 77, 329  
 Torpin, R., 70, 828  
 Toynbee, Arnold, 801  
 Turner, E. C. H., 85, 829  
 Tyrer, A. H., 829  
  
 Unwin, J. D., 329  
  
 Valtin, Jan, 260, 329  
*Virtue of Chastity*, essay by John Macmurray, 294  
 Vonderlehr, R. A., 77, 329  
  
 Wagner, Wilhelm, 116  
 Walker, Kenneth, 68, 329  
 Warner, W. Lloyd, 174, 829  
 Watson, G., 829  
 Webb, M. L., 99, 829  
 Weichert, C. K., 71, 829  
 Weiss, E., 71, 329  
 Westermarck, Eduard, 56, 88, 262, 380  
 White, A. D., 59, 298, 380  
 Whyte, W. F., 174, 380  
 Widdowson, E. E., 78, 826  
 Wiggam, Albert, 252  
 Wilbur, Ray L., 178, 234, 286, 825  
 William the Conqueror, 158  
 Wittkower, E. D., 99, 830  
 Wood, Ellen Price (Mrs. Henry), 12  
 Wood-Allen, Mary, 18, 380  
 Woodside, Moya, 70, 71, 86, 108, 380  
 Woolston, Howard B., 209, 218, 220, 227, 229, 380  
 Wortis, J., 830  
 Wright, Helena, 148, 380  
  
 Yarros, Rachel, 260, 380  
 Young, Kimball, 209, 380  
 Young, P. T., 830



# Date Due

NEW BOOK	<del>_____</del>	MAR 1 '87
MR 10 '53	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
MR 26 '53	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
AP 7 '53	MAR 21 '68	<del>_____</del>
JE 1 '53	NOV 14 '61	<del>_____</del>
FACULTY	NOV 28 '61	<del>_____</del>
NO 11 '53	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
NO 30 '53	JAN 3 '62	<del>_____</del>
DE 2 '54	DEC 2 '61	<del>_____</del>
DE 16 '54	DEC 8 '62	<del>_____</del>
JA 3 '55	JAN 7 '63	APR 11 '63
JA 17 '55	FACULTY	<del>_____</del>
AP 19 '55	<del>_____</del>	OCT 24 '73
NO 15 '55	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
DE 5 '55	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
OCT 19 '55	DEC 9 '64	JUN 30 2006
<del>_____</del>	FACULTY	<del>_____</del>
<del>_____</del>	NOV 3 '66	<del>_____</del>
⑥		



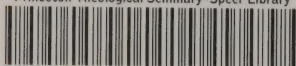


*[Faint, illegible handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*



HQ31 .D98  
Men, women, and morals.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00139 1517